THE

SËIR MUTAQHERIN;

OR

REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES:

BEING AN

HISTORY OF INDIA,

From the Year 1118 to the Year 1194, of the Hedjrah,

CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,

THE REIGNS of the SEVEN LAST EMPERORS of HINDOSTAN.

AND, IN PARTICULAR,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN BENGAL,

WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FAMILIES OF

SERADJ-ED-DÖWLAH *and* SHUDJAH-ED-DÖWLAH,

THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF BENGAL AND OWD.

To which the Author has added

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND POLICY IN THOSE COUNTRIES,

AS FAR DOWN AS THE YEAR 1783.

The whole written in Persian

BY

SEID GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-KHAN,

An Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as Actor and Spectator.

VOLUME IV.

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VOL. IV

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THE Syks, those people whom we have represented as nearly destroyed under Feroh-syur, and who in the sequel had availed themselves of Mir-mann8's neglect and of the extortionary administration of his officers to associate with their sect a great number of farmers, commenced now to raise their heads. Grown exceedingly numerous, and sensible of the weakness of the present Government, as well as little intimidated by the name of the Abdali-king, whom they knew to be far off, they assembled in battle-array, and falling upon the Abdali Governor left at Lahor, they killed him, took possession of the city, and, not yet satisfied, they proclaimed a certain Chinta, a man from among themselves, Emperor. They made him sit upon a throne, struck money in his name, overran the whole province of Lahor, took possession of it, and made it a point to torment the Mussulmen by every means in their power. Intelligence of this revolution having been transmitted to Candahar, the Abdali-king resolved to make another expedition into Hindostan, and this was his seventh and last. It took place in the year 1175. But as the territory of Lahor was known to be the spot where the Abdalies, first of all, landed in their expeditions towards Hindostan, the Syks thought proper to evacuate it entirely; and repairing to the country of Rohy, a district of very difficult access, they took possession of a very strong fort in it, and assembled there from all parts, to the number of two lacs of men, cavalry and infantry. But this did not deter the Abdali-king. Informed of their retreat, as well as of their

Ravages of the Syks, who proclaim an Emperor of their own.

numbers, he measured ninety cosses of ground in two days(1), and falling upon those free-booters the moment he was least expected, he drew smoke from their breasts. About twenty thousand of them became food to his famished and thirsty sabre; but the booty was immense, and beyond all computation. After this victory, seeing no enemy in the field, he put every thing to fire and sword in that country, which had associated with those miscreants; and marching back, he planted his victorious standards in the territory of Lahor, where he employed his time in quieting and regulating that country. Meanwhile he dispatched an Abdali, called Noor-eddin-qhan, a near relation of his Vezir, towards Cashmir. with orders to bring the Syks of that country into order and submission. That country was then in the hands of Djiven the Syk. This man, born at Cab8l, of a Catri tribe, had been a writer and an accountant in some office under Shah-veli-qhan, Vezir to the Abdali-king, who sent him sometime after to enforce a payment due by Mir-mann8, Governor of Lahor. It was in the year 1167. But Abdollah-qhan having been ordered to repair to Cashmir to take possession of that country, which still acknowledged the auhtority of Alemghir the Second, Emperor of Hinodstan, that General who succeeded in this expedition, dismissed the Indian Governor, and appointed in his stead. Qhodja C8tcher, giving at the same time the management of the revenue to the Syk Djiven, who thereby became Divan or Intendant of the province. After these regulations, he left the new Governor a body of Afghans, and returned to his master. But hardly was he departed when troubles arose in Cashmir; in which Djivan the Syk, having been deeply concerned, he commenced by killing the Commander of the Afghan Troops, after which he confined, and then banished from Cashmir, Qhodja C8tchec himself. At the same time he applied to the Vezir of Hindostan, Umad-el-mulk, requesting to have the patents of the Government of Cashmir in his own name, and these being granted without difficulty, the new Governor re-established everywhere the Hindostany government, ordered money to be coined, and the Qh8tbah to be pronounced, in the name of Alemghir the Second. After this he took possession of the

But are defeated in a bloody battle by the D8rranies or Abdalies.

(1) About two hundred and twenty common miles of a thousand paces each.

revenue office, sent his collectors everywhere, confiscated all the lands possessed in Djaghir by the Grandees of the Court, and bore an absolute sway in the country.

Valuable character of Djiven.

Such a revolution could not have been brought about, but by a man of abilities. He was, besides, a well-looking, handsome man, naturally good, and of an obliging disposition, and although a Syk, he seemed in his belief and practice much inclined to Mussulmanism; for he used to set apart a sum of money for repairing the monuments of the Saints of Cashmir, and for putting in order the gardens and seats that surrounded them, and served for public walks. He made it a practice every day to give dressed victuals to two hundred Mussulmen, and twice in the month he sent qhoans or tables covered with a variety of dishes to a number of persons abroad. Naturally beneficent, he gave to every suitor that applied, but always according to his station or necessities. Every week he had a day set apart for hearing and entertaining the Poets of Cashmir. Amongst these he set apart five of the most learned ones to write the history of that country, from the first period in which it received inhabitants down to his time(2). But their business was only to abridge memoirs. To these five principal historians he added ten men of inferior learning, whose business was to assist the others in composing memoirs, examining records, and transcribing vouchers. Nor is it improper to mention here the names of these five select men. The first was Mahmed-tö8fic, the liberated, whose vulgar name in the Cashmirian language was Lala-dji. He had no equal in his time at Cashmir, and I remember this distich of his:

Who proves a beneficent Prince and a man of letters.

Notice of the five Cashmirian Poets, who are employed by him to compile a history of Cashmir.

> "Let the shaft come out with which thou hast transfixed my afflicted breast;
> "Let it emerge like one that comes out of a house that has freshly taken mourning."

The second was Mahammed-aaly-qhan, author of a book entitled Biography of the Poets. He was son to a nobleman of Iran, called Hessam-ed-din-qhan, and was then domiciled at Cashmir, and one of the Imperial Mansobdars of an inferior order(3). The third was Mirza Calender-metin teqhalluss. He

(2) There is a history of Cashmir, extant, written by a Cashmirian, but different from these five learned men, which reaches four thousand years back.

(3) The Mansubdars are Military Officers, reputed to command from two hundred and fifty to twelve thousand horse, and they are distinguished from each other by the

called himself sometimes by the name of Calender, and sometimes by the name of Canber(4); and his works are said to have amounted to one lack of verses. The fourth was Mohammed-aaly, vulgarly called Panna. There is a fifth, whose name I do not recollect at present.

To return to our history. The Abdaly-king, having set apart a body of Abdalies, and two other bodies composed of Ailats of Qhorassan and of Cuzzel-bashes of Herat, gave them to Noor-eddin-qhan, with orders to bring the Cashmir to a submission; and he directed the Radja of Djamb8 to assist the expedition with a body of his troops, who might serve as guides to the others. This Radja had made it a practice, whenever any army passed through his territory, to quit the plains, and to retire to a mountainous, difficult country, where he eluded every pursuit, sometimes indeed submitting to send a present in money; and as it was impossible to penetrate into Cashmir without Cashmirians or other guides, and the Syk Djiven had shut up the passage, and placed Cashmirian troops to guard them(5), it became impracticable even to approach that country, without the assistance of people accustomed to those mountains. It was with reason, therefore, that the Abdaly-king made an application to the Radja of Jamb8 for his assistance, and he desired to see him at his Court. This request had been made by the channel of Shah-veli-qhan, the Abdaly's Vezir, and the Radja's particular friend; but the Gentoo Prince would not listen to the proposal. At last the Vezir having sent him his own son to be kept

particular number turned into an adjective, for instance, Ahmed-qhan-bahadyr, do-hezari, that is, the Valiant Lord Ahmed, the two thousandth. In general, they command a lesser number of men than their grade points out. But there are instances of an equality, and even of the very reverse; and there are some other instances where the dignitary is allowed two horses to a man, and in that case Ahmed, the two thousandth, has the further adjective, two-horsed, added to his title. All these are paid in lands, very few in money.

(4) Canber is the name of Aaly's dog; and although the Persians, in their jealousy of the English, affect to turn them in ridicule, and to render them odious by trumping up several extravagant tales about English and about dogs, (tales, where they equally betray their ignorance of the English, as well as their aversion to dogs,) nevertheless, Canber is another species of being. They allow him a place in Paradise, and are proud of bearing his name; but it is only the Shiahs Nassiries, that is, those that attribute Divinity to Aaly, that carry matters so far.

(5) Cashmir is a very strong country, and of difficult access.

in hostage, until he should return safe into his own country, the Radja became easy in his mind, and he gave the information wanted, and added a body of his own troops to serve as guides, throughout those mountainous tracts. The only passage from the Radja's country into Cashmir is by crossing the Chennav, a river that rushes betwixt two abrupt cliffy shores with so much rapidity and such depth of water that neither man nor animal can pretend to abide its fury. Across this rapid river, the Vezir Shah-veli-qhan, by the Radjah's advice, ordered a number of tall trees to be stretched from cliff to cliff, to serve as a bridge, whereon the army might pass, and the whole passed accordingly; after which the Radja with his troops retired to his own country. There remained a narrow mountainous passage in which the Syk Djiven had thrown his best troops, and these having been driven away at last, after many actions and much bloodshed, the passage was cleared. Noor-eddin-qhan, having pursued the runaways, made a massacre of them, and without allowing them time to take breath, he arrived with them at the city of Cashmir. Here he was opposed by Djiven himself, at the head of what force he could collect; but after a slight action, the citizens fled. He fled with them, and in his flight he was taken prisoner with the principal men of the country. The King informed of this success of Noor-eddin-qhan, appointed him Deputy-Governor of the whole province, and in the year 1177 he resolved to return to Candahar. Quitting, therefore, the neighbourhood of Lahor, he marched to Cab8l, and this is the last time he came into Hindostan, the present being his seventh expedition into that country. For the troubles, that had arisen in his absence in Qhorassan, proved so very serious, that he found no time to destroy the Syks, and to establish his Government in Lahor and M8ltan upon a sure footing; so that these two provinces, as well as the Tatta, being nearly abandoned, and without a military force, they were invaded again by the Syks, who returned and established themselves firmly in those tracts. Not but that Prince, as well as his son and successor (Timur-shah), used sometimes to send bodies of horse into those countries, but it was rather with a view to procure plunder, and to raise contributions, than for any solid purpose; and in fact we see, that to this day, which is in the year 1195, those countries have remained unsubdued by the

Abdalies; nor is their authority acknowledged there. On the contrary, the Syks become more numerous and more powerful than ever, have established their collectors in every district of those three provinces, and they seem to make no account of any enemies whatever. But then they are no more those barbarians we have heard of. Sensible of the advantages of good government, they have put themselves upon the footing of using the husbandman and farmer with the utmost regard and tenderness; so that those countries are now in the highest degree of culture and population. Nevertheless, the mighty city of Lahor has ceased to be what it was. It has lost its populousness and its beauty. Those crowds of nobility and gentry, with all those learned men that(6) adorned it, have forsaken its walls, have preferred excile and distress to the dominion of strangers, whilst those that have bowed to the times, and submitted to that humiliation, and to its concomitants, want of employment and want of subsistence, live lurking in the ruins of their tottering habitations. It appears now, (and I am writing in the year 1195) that the forces of that flaming sword of the State, the Valiant Mirza Nedjef-qhan(7), Prince of Princes, have penetrated into those countries, and engaged the Syks in many actions, and made them feel his consequence. However, it is time alone that can determine how these new broils are likely to end. But as we have already said so much of this new power, as well as of the new sovereignty set up by Nedjef-qhan, in the northern parts of Hindostan, we think it incumbent upon us to introduce to our reader some account of the Marhattas, those southern conquerors, who now fill so vast a circumference in that region, as well as in Decan.

It appears from the earliest histories that the Monarchs of Hindostan have always commanded to the Princes of Decan, and that their armies have more than once penetrated as far as Lanca and Serendib(8); so that their government was absolute

(6) Lahor has been one of the Mussulman Universities of Hindostan, and its title in the Imperial Diplomas and Registers is *Dar-el-Ylr*, the habitation of Science.

(7) These words answer to the Persian words, Zulficar-ed-dôwlah, Mirza-nedjef-khan-bahadyr, Emir-ul-umrah.

(8) It may be suspected that *Lanca* is no other than the famous temple of *Ramesseram*, at the head of the shoals and islands that lead upon a depth of only five feet from the Continent to the Island of Ceylon, nay, to be that broken tongue

in those distant parts. It is only since the reign of Mahmed-shah, whose Ministers were extremely inattentive, and whose government was very indolent, that the Marhattas finding the field open and undisputed, have spread themselves all over Hindostan, on whose inhabitants they have brought an infinity of evils; so that few countries have remained free from their pillage; and one of these is the A8d, which was indeed defended

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of the Continent itself, called by the natives *The first man's bridge*. Seren-dib is the Arabic manner of pronouncing Selen-div, the Island of Ceylon. *Lanca* may signify a bridge in Hindostany, from the word *Lung-na*, to go or straddle over. But it would not be impossible, (nay, it appears to be so in ancient geographical records,) that *Lanca*, known to be the name of the most meridional parts of India, should have extended some degrees beyond the Line, whereas it falls now some degrees short of it, and ends north of it. For it appears that *Lanca* must have been some great Island whose fragments have formed the Maldivas and Laquedivas: Archipelagoes, of which neither Strabo nor Ptolemy say a single word, doubtless because they did not exist in their time; which Archipelagoes having no spinal bone, as all Islands have, *that is, no chain of high grounds traversing them from end to* end, and it being only flat sand, hardly two feet above the level of the sea, they seem evidently to have been formed by alluvion; for the southern Indian coasts being eternally beaten by an ocean which the etesian winds endlessly pour against them, must have at same period or other experienced very great changes. Nay, we shall suspect that *Lanca* must have been Ceylon itself, and when we shall attend to this, that Ceylon which has not to-day two hundred and fifty leagues in circuit, had no less than four hundred in Marco-polo's time, who navigated thither, and says positively that the ancient Chinese Charts, then in his hands, gave it twelve hundred leagues, (an extent that must have carried it some degrees beyond the line) we shall no more be at a loss to find the Island of Tabo or Tapo-bonn, the Taprobana of the ancients: words which, we are told, signify in Shanscrit, the ancient language of India, *The Wilderness or Forest of Prayers*, an appellation which would befit Ceylon even to-day, were it because of the appearance of the interior parts of the country and because of that concourse of Pilgrims that resort thither by thousands and ten thousands from all parts of India, to visit the impression of the foot of the first man which the Indians affirm to have been created there: an assertion in which they do not seem to be much out of the way. For unless it is supposed that the first men came out of the ground, with each of them a loaf in their mouths, it follows of all necessity that they must have been created in a country where their wants might have been fewer, and their conveniencies more at hand; and *of course in* a country that did not require clothes, and abounded with spontaneous roots, and farinaceous plants, as is Ceylon and all the Torrid-zone. This surmise brings naturally to mind the conclusion, th first men must have been black; and that the Phoenicians and Egyptians, people very swarthy and with frizzled hair, were very much in the right, when on their first landing upon the then savage coasts of Europe, or *Europa*, they designed the few straggling savages they perceived, by the words, *Ur apa* white men. The reader will forgive this remark, it is pedantic, but not distant from the subject.

by its situation on the other side of the Ganga, and by the vigorous exertions of Sadet-qhan and his posterity. Bengal, on the other hand, as well as Azim-abad, owe their safety to Aaly-verdy-qhan's firmness and intrepid courage; and Lahor, M8ltan, and Tatta, to their great distance from the central parts of the Marhatta dominions. Not that their armies and their ravages have not more than once reached to those parts; nevertheless their government has never been fully acknowledged or established in any. But as we have in several parts of these sheets often mentioned these southern conquerors, it is proper to satisfy the curiosity of the reader by some account of the origin of their nation, as well as by some notion of the disputes and dissensions with which it is now distracted.

A curious historical account of the Marhatta nation from its origin.

This nation arose originally in the Dë8-gur, a country on the western back of Bengal, and whose inhabitants to this day are called Marhattas, and speak that language. It was at first a particular tribe governed by the family of Bhosselah, which has since lost the sovereignty of it on being supplanted by that of Baladji-rão; and here is what we know of certain on that subject. The Bhosselahs are descended from the Radjas or Kings of 8dëypoor, an ancient race of Princes, extremely honoured and respected amongst all the Radjp8t tribes, and which although greatly fallen from its ancient grandeur, and much less powerful than the families of Rhator and Retchöaha, still holds a pre-eminence amongst these illustrious houses; insomuch that not one of those Princes thinks himself lawfully seated upon the throne, until he has received the Cashcaw from the Prince of 8dëyp8r, which Cashcaw the receiver considers as a full investiture(9); and having rubbed it upon his forehead, from that moment only reckons himself a lawful Prince, and assumes the title of Radja. The 8dëyp8r Radja's particular style and title is that of Rana, and the general report is that his family is related to

(9) The Cashcaw is sent upon a small polished marble or stone, of the bigness of a plate or even a tea-saucer, and it consists of some sandal-wood and some lime, or turmeric, or Indian safron, all which is pounded to dust and reduced into a paste by a mixture of some water. These ingredients must have first touched the sender's right toe, and they then are welcomed by the receiver with a deal of joy and respect; after which he dips his finger, and draws with those ingredients, or with any of them, one or several lines upon his forehead from the root of the hair, down to the tip of the nose.

An8b-shirvan the Just, Emperor of Iran(10). Some historians have wrote that after the conquest of Iran by Saad and Caass(11), the posterity of that Monarch dispersed, and that one of the Princes of that family coming to India, had risen in time to the dignity and station of Radja(12); after which his descendants styled themselves Ranaes. But as our duty is to admit only what has been ascertained by historians of undoubted credit, accordingly, this story proves to be groundless, and this pretended relation to An8b-shirvan is found to lean on the following historical fact: It appears, then, that Prince Partab-chund having set up pretensions to the Crown, and become prevalent, had set aside the children of Ram-dĕ8, taken possession of the throne, and thought himself powerful enough to assert his own independence, and to refuse to send the usual tribute which the Sovereigns of India used to pay to the Emperors of Iran. An8b-shirvan hearing of this, sent an army in India, with orders to bring the retractory Prince to his Court, bound hand and foot Partab-chund, become now sensible of his error, humbled himself before the Iranian General, kissed the ground in his presence, and atoned for his rebellion by assembling his richest jewels with an immense sum of money, which he sent with his daughter to the

Singular pretensions of their ancient Princes.

(10) This An8b-shirvan reigned at the beginning of the seventh Christian century; and it is under his reign that Mohammed was born. His dominions did not extend to Mecca, so sterile a country being not worth his while; but his Empire extended much beyond it, that is, in Yaman, or Arabia Felix, and from all over Persia, to all Euzbeg-Tartary, and to all Hindostan. And it appears that so early as four thousand years ago, India acknowledged a subjection to the Emperors of Persia of the first race; and it should seem also from what the Jewish colony of Cochin says, that Baht-ennussar's (Nebuchadnezzar's) Empire extended to Cape Comorin. Those that are learned in the Sanskrit language will have it one day in their power to ascertain how far the religion of India and Persia resembled each other. For our part, we perceive a constant vassalage, a constant intercourse, much conformity in language, and a greater one in manners and customs and usages, and this similarity goes so far, that we find the Persian Legislator or Philosopher Zer-Atousht conversed familiarly with Chungruc-Acha, or Pil-Pai, the Indian Philosopher, without a linguist.

(11) Saad was the name of that General of Omar's who conquered Persia

(12) The similarity of religion must have been great indeed, for a Persian foreigner to become at once and be acknowledged as Radja over an Indian tribe To-day a Persian conqueror may come and reign as Lord over an Indian tribe; but the whole nation, to the very last man, could readily suffer death rather than have any communion with him as Radja

Cosro(13) of Iran, accompanying the Princess with an humble message where he supplicated that Monarch's forgiveness. An8b-shirvan accepted, the present, and confirmed him in the possession of the Crown; and it remained a number of ages in Partab-chund's descendants, who styled themselves Ranaes. But those descendants, losing by degrees their wonted energy, were in process of time stripped of the greatest part of their dominions by the subordinate Princes, who left them only a small principality; nevertheless, without ever ceasing to pay the highest honour and respect to those descendants, whom they reputed to be the representatives and deputies of the Cosroes of Iran, and as Partab-chund, the chief of the family, had married his daughter to An8b-shirvan, it is from thence that the Indian Prince's posterity claimed a parentage with a relationship to that Cosro. But this relationship has no other foundation than that of Partab-chund's sending his daughter to that Prince; for although the Gentoo Princess entered the Imperial sanctuary of Iran, and was enlisted amongst the angels of that sacred paradisical place, nevertheless, as the evidence expected from her person did not make its appearance, she was neglected. Nor does it appear that An8b-shirvan ever had any other known child but Hormoz, whose mother was certainly a lady of one of the first houses in Iran.

After a digression that seemed necessary, we will now return to our history of the Marhatta nation. One of the descendants of the Ranna happened to be born from a carpenter's daughter, and as the Gentoos, to a man, make no account of such children as are born out of wedlock, or from women other than those of their own tribe, this descendant, who found himself held in an inferior light by his relations and by his own tribe, quitted 8dëypoor in disgust, and turning his steps towards

(13) It appears that all the Roman Emperors were called Káissars and Kaisser-shahs all over the East, that is Cæsars, and the Iranian Emperors, Cosroes; as are the Turkish Emperors called, Qhoncars; and those appellations were and are admitted by the respective Emperors and nations. But there are two more titles famous all over the East, of which however the pretended owners know nothing, and these are Moghul, for the Emperors of Hindostan, and Faghf8r, for those of China; the last word being the more unlucky, as the Chinese language afforded no *R* in its letters, and the word Faghf8r is used to signify porcelain.

the south, and in particular towards the Carnatic, he settled in that country, where, on account of his high extraction, he married amongst the Princes of that region. From this marriage sprung two sons, and two families, the one called that of Antöuliah ; the second, that of Bhöuselah. Sahö-dji, whom history mentions to have been an officer of merit in the service of Burham-eddin-nizam-shah, King of Häider-abad, descended in a direct line from that Bhöuselah. He afterwards quitted that Prince, and took service with Hibrahim-adel-shah, King of Bidjap8r, who being extremely satisfied with his services, gave him the Pergannah or District of P8nah in appanage. Saho-dji, now turned farmer and Zemindar, or landholder, cultivated that spot with all his might, but under a certain quit rent, and in the form of a zemindary; so that he passed his life upon that estate, but this was only for a short time. His active mind did not brook inaction, and he quitted his freehold to take service with the fortunate conqueror, Shah-djehan, that second Lord of conjunction(14). After a very active life, he was succeeded in his estate by his son, Seva-dji, who seemed likewise to inherit all his father's character. It was at the time when Hibrahim-adel-shah having fallen into a lingering disease that carried him to his grave, after suffering during two years, he had so far neglected the administration, that great troubles had arisen in his dominions, the troops disbanded and came to Bidjap8r, and the country of Cöucan or Concan, amongst others, lost all its garrisons at once, and was left to itself. The advantage that could be made of such a state of things could not escape a man like Seva. This founder of the family of Bhöuselah was a sensible shrewd man, remarkable for his bodily strength and for much personal prowess, as well as for much capacity. Availing himself of the confusion and inactivity of the times, he put himself at the head of a number of people which his character kept together, and by them he was enabled to take possession of several forts and fortresses, that proved empty of troops, or unguarded. Meanwhile Hibrahim-adel-shah's life drawing to an end, his son, Aaly-aadel-shah, mounted his throne, and as his administration, both on account of his character and also of his youth, wanted energy, the troubles in his dominions went on

Seva-dji, his son, assumes independence.

(14) The conjunction of the Planets of Jupiter and Mars.

increasing; and Seva, becoming daily more powerful and enterprising, found means to bring under his power all the strongholds of the Cöucan or Concan, one after another; and these together with those he built himself, amounted to full forty fortresses, replenished with every store convenient for their defence. He was likewise in possession of several difficult tracts that might have been defended like so many fortresses: a situation that put it in his power to assume independence, and to bid defiance to his master, Aaly-aadel-shah, whose principal Minister and General, Afzyl-qhan, he found means to surprise and kill; after which he plundered his camp, and stripped his soldiers. Nor did Rostem-qhan, another General of that Prince's, fare better than his predecessor; he too was shamefully defeated. After this victory Seva ceased to pay any regard to the Adel-shahïans, and he commenced making courses and ravaging the country; and as the Cöucan, of which he was now the undisputed master, borders upon the bitter waters(15), he became possessed of several harbours, and commenced driving at sea the trade which highwaymen exercise at land, waylaying merchants, and plundering their property. Become bolder by continual successes, he attacked the neighbouring countries of Aoreng-zib's jurisdiction, and committed spoil as often as he found an opportunity. The Monarch being informed of his excesses, ordered Shahistah-qhan, Viceroy of Decan, to chastise that freebooter, and Radja Djesvent-Rhator received orders likewise to join that General. The two Generals entered the Cöucan, and burned it from end to end, but not without much difficulty and bloodshed. Seva, or Seva-dji, who had many friends and relations in Shahista-qhan's army, engaged them to rise in a certain night(16), in which the General was to marry his son. The scheme was to fall suddenly upon that General, and to kill him, and although it did not succeed fully to his wishes, it put it in his power to surprise that General in his camp, and to give him a shameful defeat. This happened in the year 1073. The

His successors.

(15) Deria-shor are the Persian words used in India to signify the Ocean, or Sea. But the Indians have the word Samahender for that element.

(16) All marriages in India are celebrated by torch light, as the heat of the day would render such ceremonies insupportable, and the nights are of a coolness truly admirable.

Emperor, informed of this event, severely reproached the General for his neglect, dismissed him from his Government, and appointed in his stead his own son, the Imperial Prince Soltan Muäzzem; and as he was no better satisfied with Radja Djesvent's activity in this war, he sent for him to Court, and appointed in his stead Radja Djehi-sing. This Prince proving quite another man, chastised Seva-dji severely, as often as he could come up with him; so that the latter finding that all was going to wreck, thought proper to submit. He came unarmed, and having entered into a treaty with the Gentoo Prince, he agreed to surrender and evacuate twenty-three fortresses which were pointed out to him, and to pay a present of ten lacs of Hoons(17). This treaty having been agreed to by the Emperor, an Imperial edict issued from the Chancellerie, forgiving his past misdemeanours, and creating his son, Simba, a Monsobdar of five thousand horse. Seva-dji, satisfied with this grade, resolved to kiss the Imperial threshold, and going to Agra with his son, he inclined himself profoundly before the Monarch, by whom he was received with particular regard. But the man, born far from the Capital, and in the middle of the mountains of Decan, had too much Decanism in himself yet, and too little acquaintance with the Courts of Emperors, to set a proper value upon the reception he had received. He thought it far below what he was entitled to, and complained of it to Radja Djehi-sing's son, as of a want of attention and regard. This complaint was very ill taken. He was forbidden the Court, and guards were set over him, but his son, as not comprised in his guilt, was left at full liberty, and was received at Court as usual. It was the Emperor's intention to keep Seva-dji for some time in that school of respect and deference, and then to raise him to honours, on sending him back to his own country; but Seva; who knew nothing of that design, and had grown impatient of a restraint that had lasted these three months and nine days, resolved to set himself at liberty. He found ways to disguise himself, and, with his son, Simbah, to give the slip to his guards.

Is obliged to submit.

(17) This is the Indian word for that kind of Gold Coin, called Pagoda, which last is not so much as known amongst them. The Pagoda is worth from three rupees to three and-a-half and four rupees. It is stamped on the flat side with three small figures, half lengths, very coarsely executed, and on the convex side with small dots, and it looks like a round sleeve-button.

Arrived in his country, he commenced his ravages with more fury than ever, and he grew so formidable every day, that his incursions became the chief business of the Governors of those frontiers. At last he died on the twenty-fourth of the second Reby, in the year 1098; and his son, Simbah, continued as his father had commenced, but met with his deserts. For the troubles of the country having risen to a heighth, the Emperor Aoreng-zib himself thought it worth his while to repair in person to those frontiers. It was the next year, and he took up his abode at the city of Aoreng-abad, where for full twenty-five years he employed himself in chastising the Marhattas. But some of the Grandees of his Court, and some of the Generals of his army, who for private reasons of their own wished for a continuance of the war, found it their interest to support that criminal race underhand, and to prevent its being exterminated.

Simba, his son.

Simba had two sons, Ram-radja and Saho-radja. These, after Aoreng-zib's demise, found means to plant on the frontiers of the Imperial dominions the shrub of partnership(18), a shrub that spread its roots from near to near, whilst those that had planted it extended their dominion upon some parts of the south of India, not comprised within the Governments of Decan; and here is some account of this matter.

At the end of Aoreng-zib's reign, it was determined to come to some accommodation with the Marhattas, and to grant them one Des-m8kki, or tenth, out of the product of those southern frontiers(19), in lieu of all their pretensions, under condition of their acknowledging themselves henceforward subjects of the Empire, and abstaining from incursions and ravages. Ahsen-qhan-mir-melenk, a nobleman of importance in those parts, had even been sent with the diploma of this treaty, and with orders to bring the Marhatta Generals to pay their obeisance to the Imperial threshold. Mir-melenk was already departed, with the treaty in his hand, when the Emperor altered his mind, and ordered that nobleman to return, without delivering the same. But in Bahadyr-shah's reign, it was agreed that the Marhattas should have one-tenth of that part of the crop, allowed

(18) The author means their establishing a right in the fourth of the revenue; it is the chout.

(19) These words signify the tenth handful.

the farmer, and the patents of the agreement passed the seals and were put in their hands. That Prince, after this treaty, and the defeat of Cam-baqhsh, his brother, quitted the Decan, and marched towards Hindostan, leaving the government of all those southern countries to Zulficar-qhan, the Prince of Princes. It was in the year 1121 of the Hedjrah. This Viceroy, unwilling to remain at a distance from Court, followed the Emperor, leaving for his Deputy in those countries, an illustrious Afghan of those parts, called Dä8d-qhan-peni, and this Deputy Viceroy made it a standing rule to allow the Marhattas one-quarter of the Imperial revenues of those countries, over and above the ten per cent. which they had been allowed as Des-mucky over the husbandman's share, in consequence of the Imperial Diploma, now in their hands: a partage which became a current custom and an inviolable rule all over the Decan. But yet the Marhattas had no Imperial patent for this Chö8t, or fourth part of the Imperial revenues. Nor was this matter settled and registered but in Feroh-syur's reign. For this Prince, who could not bear the two brothers, Sëyds, used continually to excite Sah8 Radja, son to Simbah, against Husseïn-aalv-qhan, who had succeeded Zulficar-qhan in the Government of all the Decans, and as this nobleman was perpetually exhorted by his elder brother, Abdollah-qhan, the Vezir, to come to Court, where the Emperor was perpetually involved in continual machinations against their lives and their families, Husseïn aaly-qhan, to be at liberty to repair to Court, came to an agreement with the Marhattas, in the year 1129. This treaty was managed on one hand by Mahmed-anvar-qhan, the Burhanp8rian, and on the other by Sanera-dji-malhar, the Marhatta; and the right of raising the Chôut all over the six Governments and-a-half of the Viceroyalty of Decan being entirely acknowledged in the Marhattas, the patents of it were drawn up in due form and put in their hands, under these two conditions only: that they should abstain from all incursions and ravages; and that they should constantly keep in the service of the Viceroy ot Decan a body of fifteen thousand horse. This Chôut or quart was admitted over and above the tenth or Des-mucky, mentioned above Thus it became a tribute acknowledged as a balance due to the Radja Sah8 on the Côucan, his original kingdom; and Baladji, son to Beshennat, a

Brahman of this last country, having been appointed Deputy General on the part of that Prince to put the treaty in execution, he established in each province two collectors of his own, one of whom, under the name of Mucasdar, collected the Chöut, whilst the other made his business of the Des-mucky. This treaty, by putting a stop to the periodical ravages of the Marhattas, enabled the devastated provinces of Decan to recover a little, and cultivation as well as population shewed part of their features again. But it may be said, however, of those countries, that they were from that moment severed from the Empire, and that the Imperial commands ceased to have any energy all over the Decan; for the Chöut was sometimes carried so high as a third of the whole revenue.

Hosseïn-aaly-qhan, being by this agreement left at full liberty to turn his views towards the Capital of the Empire, appointed his nephew, Alem-aaly-qhan, as his Deputy General all over those countries, and he marched towards Hindostan with thirty or forty thousand horse of his own, and another numerous Marhatta cavalry, under the command of Baladji-beshvent. Arrived in the Capital, Hosseïn-aaly-qhan deposed Feroh-syur, and raised to honors and dignities Sancra-dji-malhar, whom he sent back to Decan jointly with Baladji-beshvent, where these two men worked themselves into so much influence and power, that they equalled and rivalled Alem-aaly-qhan himself. Some time after Alem-aaly-qhan perished in battle. The power and life of the two Sëyds of Bar were brought to an untimely end, and Baladji himself departed this world. He was succeeded in all his dignities and influence by his son, Badji-rão, whom the Radja Sah8 appointed his Chief Minister, and who pushed still farther the Marhatta acquisitions. For Raja Gurd-hur-nagur having been appointed by Mahmed-shah to the Government of Malva, in the year 1137, had all the pains in the world to maintain himself in it. He had hardly enjoyed it for two years together, when Holcar-malhar, who had been one of Baladji's principal Commanders, came with an army of Marhattas, and made the new Governor so uneasy in his Government, that he died of vexation, leaving his Government to his son, who was slain in defending the city of Udjëin against Malhar; after which the Malva was completely ravaged by the Marhatta horse. Six years after

that date, Mahmed-qhan-bangash was sent to govern that unfortunate country. He arrived at Udjëin ; but the country meanwhile had been so much devastated and over-run by the Marhattas, that his authority did not find soil enough to take root in it. Two years after, that Government was conferred on Radja Djehi-sing, a Hindoo, who influenced by his religious and national principles, listened to whatever Badji-räo seemed to instil in his mind. Even the Province of G8djrat, which after the dismission of Ser-b8lend-qhan had been conferred on Radja Abhi-sing-Rhator, fared no better, and was soon over-run and subdued by the Marhatta cavalry, excited and supported underhand by Hamed-qhan, a relation of Nizam-el-mulk. So that Badji-räo finding by the ease with which both Malva and the G8djrat had been over-run and conquered, that the Empire itself was impotent, and its Ministers slothful and incapable, he advanced fearlessly farther and farther. It is true that Muzaffer-qhan, brother to the Minister Qhan-dö8ran, was sent to oppose him; and he seemed inclined to engage the Marhatta ; but the latter not thinking a battle advantageous for themselves at this time, returned to Decan ; and Muzaffer-qhan, who had advanced as far as Seroudj, but found no enemy in the field, and nothing but a ruined country before him, returned to the Capital, victorious indeed if you will, but without having come to either battle or an engagement. The next year Badji-räo having returned into Hindostan, both the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, and the Prince of Princes Qhan-dö8ran came out of the city to meet him in the field. They marched by two different roads for that purpose, and had advanced thirty or forty cosses in the Malva. This manœuvre did not impose on the Marhatta, who sent Pelid dji, surnamed the sorcerer, with part of his army against the Vezir, and Holcar-malhar with the other, against Qhan-dö8ran. Pelid-dji engaged the Vezir three or four times, and was as often worsted, whilst Qhan-dö8ran, jealous of his success, commenced with Malhar a negotiation for peace ; and a treaty having been soon concluded, he returned to the Capital in company with the Vezir himself. But in the year 1148, Qhan-dö8ran, gained by Radja Djehi-sing-aivâi, turned the Emperor's mind in such a manner, that the Government of both Malva and G8djrat was conferred on Badji-räo. The next year, this General returned to Malva with

a numerous cavalry, and having established his Government in that province, and put the collections in a proper order, he turned his arms against Radja Behdor, whom he besieged in his Capital, which he took. The Radja unable to stand in the field, quitted the flat country, and retired into a mountainous tract, where he was safe; so that Badji-räo finding that nothing further could be done with him, finished the destruction of his country, and then turned his thoughts towards becoming master of the country of Anter-bid, which we have observed to comprise all the tract of land betwixt the Ganga and the Djumnah. For this purpose he sent Pelid-dji, the sorcerer, with an army in that country, from whence he knew that Saadet-qhan had just crossed over towards Ecber-abad, and his orders were to attack this General in his way. But Pelid-dji having been encountered by the latter, who saved him one-half of the journey, an engagement ensued, in which the Marhatta lost so many of his men, that he fled with all his might, re-crossed the Djumnah, and was at all the pains in the world to rejoin Badji-räo. Moreover, in crossing the river, he mistook his ford, and lost an infinity of men, who fell a prey to that insatiable alligator, the inexorable Fate. It was observed of Saadet-qhan, that he dismissed fifteen hundred prisoners, after having given each of them a blanket and two rupees. Badji-räo, worsted in the Anter-bid, thought of recovering his character by making a push towards the Capital itself, the environs of which he pluddered and ruined at his pleasure. At last the Vezir and Qhan-dö8ran came out to put an end to his ravages, and they were soon joined by Saadet-qhan himself, and by Mahmed-qhan-bangash, who all advanced with an intention to engage the enemy. But the Marhatta finding no advantage likely to be got by battle, retired by the way of Acber-abad into Malva; and we have mentioned that event at large in the former volume. All this happened about the year 1150, when Nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, being called to Court, the Government of Malva was conferred upon himself, and he advanced to take possession. Badji-räo, on his side, resolved to dispute such a prize, and he came out of Decan with a numerous cavalry; insomuch that the two armies were on the point of meeting in the territory of Bopal, when news coming at this time that Nadyr-shah was rapidly advancing towards the Capital of Hindostan, Nizam-el-mulk, who thought

a victory on Badji-rão but a small object, compared to an event of such magnitude as Nadyr-shah's arrival, returned thither expeditiously.

While Nizam-el-mulk was engrossed by his expedition against Badji-rão, Rago-dji-bhosselah, Mucasdar of the Province of Barar, and a son of Radja Sah8's uncle, having had some difference with Shudjah-qhan the Ilah-abadian, Deputy Governor in that province on the part of Nizam-el-mulk, fell upon him, gave a defeat to his troops, and killed him in battle; and as Nadyr-shah's expedition into Hindostan had given such a wound to the vitals of that Empire, that it could never recover from it, Badji-rão, emboldened by such a state of things, took possession of all the Djaghirs and appanages which an infinity of Monsobdars held in Decan, either from the Emperor himself or from Nizam-el-mulk; and thus stood the state of things during the remainder of that Viceroy's life. But Nassyr-djung, his son and successor, having thought proper, after Nadyr-shah's departure, to send a message to Badji-rão, with a remonstrance on that subject, the remonstrance had its effect; all those Djaghiry lands were released, and they returned to their owners. But this condescension did not prevent the Marhatta from assembling in the year 1152, an army of fifty thousand horse, with which he surrounded Nassyr-djung in Aoreng-abad, with an intention to make an end of him, and he encamped for that purpose on the south side of that city, but close to its walls. Nassyr-djung, who had no more than ten thousand horse, disdained to be shut up within walls, and coming out, he left Badji-rão and his army behind, wheeled round his rear, and pushed forward, resolved to plunder P8nah, which he conjectured to be totally unattended to. Badji-rão threw himself in his way, but he beat him over and over, until he crossed the Ganga of Decan(20), from whence he ravaged the whole country. This conduct having convinced Badji-rão that nothing was to be done with people that had adopted his own system of warfare, he sent a message to Nassyr-djung, requesting the honour of a conference with him, which request being agreed to, he was received with the highest marks of distinction, and had the Districts of Carcon and Hindaïa bestowed on him as a Djaghir. Badji-rao satisfied with having concluded

(20) Alias the Godavery.

a peace, so much to his own advantage, marched on to Malva, and he was already arrived at the Nerbedda, when he fell sick, and departed this life. It was in the year 1153. His son, Baladji-rāo succeeded him in all his dignities and offices. In this year, likewise, Nizam-el-mulk, having been dismissed by the Emperor to his own Government of Decan, he set out for that country, and on his arrival at Burhanpoor, Baladji-rāo, who was then on his march for Malva, came and paid him a respectful visit. Nizam-el-mulk, after his arrival at Aoreng-abad, had several opportunities of observing the restless temper of the Marhattas, who moved several times during the eight years he lived there, but were chastised and beaten as often, and as often was a peace concluded. A peace was likewise concluded between Nassyr-djung, his successor, and Sah8 Radja, and it was observed on both sides; and although the former perished by a conspiracy in the Carnatic, and the latter died in the year 1163, yet Baladji-rāo observed the same, and was succeeded by Seda-sy8, surnamed Bahö8, and brother to Baladji-rāo's uncle, who became the sole disposer of all the affairs of the Marhatta Empire; and it was in his time that a mighty change took place in the Government of that Monarchy.

Mighty changes in that Monarchy, where the name of Monarch remains in one family, whilst the power passes to another.

So late as the reign of Sah8 Radja, the throne remained in the possession of the family of Bhosselah; but after his demise, matters took a different turn, and it was observed, that the Regent, so far from putting a Prince of that family at the head of affairs, kept the Government in his own hands, and under the modest title of "Precursor," he in fact remained the absolute master and sole disposer of the administration, civil and military, neglecting and even setting aside entirely every one of those who had previously been in power. We have already mentioned what influence and authority that new family had acquired, both in Decan and Hindostān, after the demise of Radja Sah8. Nor can that account, no more than this compendium, appear the least doubtful; for it is extracted from the historical works of the illustrious Poet Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Belgramite, who having spent his life in the Court of Decan, where his influence rendered him a man of importance, had access to all records, knew minutely every transaction of Decan relative to those countries, and was perfectly acquainted with the general history of the

Marhatta Empire, as also with the particular origin and rise of the family of Radja Sah8, as well as of the Brahmanical family of Côucan. The digression, therefore, into which we have launched, was with a view to oblige and inform the lovers of history; nor will it prove foreign to our work to say, that both these two Marhatta families seem to aim at no less than the depriving all mankind of subsistence, in order to draw it to themselves. They leave neither Zemindary or patvary(21), nor any subordinate authority, nor any hereditary command, anywhere in their dominions, or wherever they can extend their power; making it a point to tear up by the roots all such people as have any personal authority; suffering no other power to exist than their own, and seeming to be intent on becoming masters of the whole surface of the earth. But how to believe that the Almighty Cherisher of both the believer and unbeliever, of the Mussulman and Hindoo, would suffer this earth to be engrossed by one single race, or nation, He whose providence has appointed the several parts of it to afford endlessly a subsistence to a variety of tribes and races. If any thing can give a proper idea of the delicacy of feeling, and of the noble notions of that singular people, it is probably some authentic particulars which we know of Baladji-rāo's way of living. This man, who had become absolute in Hindostan as well as in Decan, was fond of bread made of Badjrah(22), and had no kind of relish for that made of wheat. He lived on raw Bringelas(23), on unripe mangoes, and on raw red pepper,

Insatiable ambition of the Marhattas.

Their singular penurious way of life.

(21) The words Patvary, Tall8cdary, and Cho8drei signify so many inferior kinds of Zemindaries, that is Lordships; they signify also a Copy-hold Tenure.

(22) Badjra is a small minute grain of a dirty brownish green, which gives a black bitterish bread. Possibly it is the Sarrazin of Europe, which we never had any opportunity of seeing there. It is about Lucknow, the food of the poorest people, who buy it at about three hundred pounds weight for less than eighteen pence, English Barley which is somewhat dearer, being in town, the food of labouring people.

(23) Bringelas, called over the East *Bodindjan* and *Bangan*, are to be seen in plenty from Provence and Languedock, as far as Turky Persia, and all the East as far as China. It is a fruit sometimes as big as a child's head, but in general oblong; it grows upon a prickly shrub, and tastes like an Artichoak, boiled. It loses its bitterness when boiled in India; but it may be sweet in the mountainous parts of the Marhatta country, as it is in fact at Mecca, where we have eaten it raw several times. Mangoes, the most delicious fruit, existing, are exceeding sour, when unripe; although there are some particular trees that afford sweet mangoes, even long before they have acquired a mellowness.

upon which delicacies he used to feed heartily. Let the reader guess the taste of the whole nation by this specimen of its Chiefs. As the Brahmans are beggars by origin, and it is a standing obligation amongst them, both to ask and to receive alms, the whole race has accustomed itself from generation to generation to such kinds of dainties and beggary with its concomitants, want of taste, and want of delicacy, stick close to all individuals, and is become a part of their nature, and although they have come to command Kingdoms, and to rule over Empires, they are still the beggars they have been. Go to any of them, from the lowest clerk to the highest man in the office, and to the Minister of State, and the first words which you shall hear from them are always these: "*What have you brought for me?—Have you* "*brought any thing for me?*" And should any man go empty handed to them, they would strip him of his turbant and coat, and then recommend him devoutly to God Almighty.

"*I see nowhere but a variety of beggar's platters.*

"Were a beggar to become a King, he would turn all mankind into beggars."

The cause of this want of taste and delicacy, as well as of the little improvement which their manners and tempers seem to be susceptible of, may be traced in that coarse fare in which the rich as well as the poor seem to delight. They live chiefly upon pulse, that species particularly called T8vur(24); nor do they give it that preparation called Bagar in India, and which is done by frying it with some butter, but they throw their butter over the pulse already boiled, so that the butter being raw, does not correct its taste; and this too is in so small a quantity, that it amounts to its not being there at all. Then their sauces and fare are stuffed with immense quantities of gin ger, turmeric, and red pepper; and as to the last, they eat quantities of it, raw, whilst they are taking their meals. This way of living being transmitted from generation to generation, becomes so far customary and familiar, as to give them a peculiar constitution. Hence their distempers in general happen to be of the billious and melancholy kind; and hence the physicians of India, who adapt their remedies to the diseases, have it in practice to give them warm stimulating medicines, appropriating their prescriptions to the constitutions of their patients. After having given this succinct account of a nation that cuts so great

(24) The T8vur is called Arhur, in Bengal and in Hindostan.

a figure in our history, I must protest that I have said nothing but what I have myself observed as a matter of fact: and that I am not influenced by either jealousy or partiality. It is a singularity amongst these people, that, although Gent8s or Hind8s(25), they never use in their letters, diplomas, and records, any other epoch than the Mohammedan one, of the Hedjrah, writing the date in Arabic words, but in Marhatta characters.

Their singular temper and customs.

After such a digression upon a nation that fills so vast a circumference in Hindostan, we are very naturally carried back to the thread of our narrative on the affairs of that country. Shudjah-ed-döwlah, after having taken the Fort of Djansi, and driven the Marhatta collectors from the Anterbid, tarried at Shah-abad with the Emperor Shah-aalem, intending to bring the Bundelcund likewise under subjection, and to establish that Prince's Government in those parts likewise. But whilst he was preparing for this expedition, in the year 1177, his attention was diverted by another object, *to wit,* the arrival of Mir-mahmed-cassem-qhan, the Aaly-djah(26), who being defeated and chased by the English, had come so far to seek an asylum in Shudjah-ed-döwlah's dominions, and in the Emperor's Court. It was at Ilah-abad that this fugitive had an interview with the Viceroy, and as he soon had opportunities of observing, that his attention, engrossed by his future expedition of the Bundelcund, did not allow him to mind anything else, he offered his service for that purpose. He had already a friend in that country, and this was Mirza-nedjef-qhan, whom he had dismissed with honour from the Keremnassa, but who was now in the Radja of Bundelcund's service. Partly by force, and partly by the insinuations of that officer, he soon brought that affair to a conclusion that did him much honour. In acknowledgment for this service, which raised the fugitive's character, Shudjah-ed-döwlah resolved to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, by attacking the English; an expedition where he was himself totally

Arrival of Mir-cassem-qhan, Navval of Bengal, in Shudjah-ed-döwlah's dominions.

(25) There are three eras in India, amongst the Gentoos. That used in Bengal dates to-day (1786) Eleven hundred and ninety-two years. There is a more sacred one, which dates from the time when one of their Philosophers, called Basdeb, published, more than five thousand years ago, a Commentary on their religion and sacred law.

(26) These two words of Aaly-djah signify the high-seated, the one of eminent station, &c.

vanquished and defeated by those strangers, who granted him a peace, by which they restored the Province of A8d to Shudjah-ed-döwlah, but gave that of Ilah-abad to Shah-aalem, as we have mentioned at length in our former volume. This peace being concluded, Shudjah-ed-döwlah repaired to his own dominions, and Shah-aalem established his Government in Ilah-abad. One of the English Commanders remained in Shudjah-ed-döwlah's Court, as an Agent from his nation, and favour upon favour was heaping upon him. Another English Commander, but of a higher rank, such as a Colonel or a General, attended in the same manner with an army on the Emperor's person at Ilah-abad, and occasionally assisted him in establishing his Government in those parts. Mirza-nedjef-qhan, who had taken service with the English in their wars with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, and had proved serviceable to them, was for that attachment of his complimented with a pension of one lack a year, to be deducted out of the twenty-four lacks tribute, which that nation had obliged themselves to pay as an acknowledgment for their holding the Bengal. After a length of time, Mirza-nedjef-qhan was promoted to the Fodjdary and Government of Corra, and ordered to clear that province of banditties, and to establish the Emperor's Government firmly. But the person who had taken possession of the Imperial mind, was Munnir-ed-döwlah, who under the modest name of Steward of the Imperial House-hold, had become in fact his Prime Minister, dismissing whom he pleased from the service. He had become also the main channel of communication between that Prince and the English. He was likewise the person pitched upon to go on his part in embassy to Calcutta, and it was during this absence, that some men of mean capacities and vile inclinations, found means to recommend themselves to that Prince. These were Hessam-eddin-qhan, Radja Ramnat, and Bahadyr-aaly-qhan; three men, who being of the same turn of mind, and having the same inclinations with Shah-aalem, soon found their way to his heart; Hessam-eddin-qhan, especially, who having made it a point to procure pretty virgins and agreeable young women from all parts, which he got instructed in the accomplishments of dancing and singing, used to present them to the Emperor, who often introduced them into the Imperial Sanctuary, where some of them became favourites, and proved

Events that are the consequences of it.

Some accounts of Shah-aalem's Court.

greatly instrumental in the seraglio in promoting their introductor's interest and in filling his purse. It was by such means as these, he soon became one of the principal Lords of the Court and one who acted as a Minister of State. Unhappy the country where men rise to honours by such vile practices! It was at such a period as this, and in such a school, that Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah thought proper to place Mirza-saadet-aaly, his younger son, to represent his father in the office of Vezir. He likewise appointed some of his friends to exercise the office of Mir-ateŝhy, and some other offices effected to his family; and himself now and then made a voyage to Ilah-abad to pay his respects to the Emperor. The account of Shah-aalem's Court naturally brings to our recollection the affairs of the Capital.

We have been mentioning that Nedjib-ed-dŏwlah, a Rohillah Prince, promoted by the Abdali-king to the office of Prince of Princes, or of Emir-el-umerah, had been left as a guardian over the young Prince, Djuvan-baqht, who had been placed by a faction upon the throne with the same name and title as was borne by his father, who was then waging war in Bengal. Nedjib-ed-dŏwlah, under the young Prince's name, governed with absolute authority in the Capital, and it must be acknowledged that for an Afghan and a Rohillah, he was not defective either in sense or in good manners; but he deserved besides such a high elevation, by his possessing all the qualifications of a General of army, being a man of conduct as well as personal prowess. His next neighbour was the Radja S8r8dj-mull, the eye and the shining taper of the Djatt tribe; a Prince who rendered himself famous by his good manners and civil deportment, as well as by his conquests, and his superior knowledge in the arts of Government: qualifications in which he had not then, and never has had since, his equal amongst the Hindoo Princes. He had raised or repaired four fortresses in his dominions in such a manner(27), that no Indian Power could pretend to take them by a siege, and he had stored them with such quantities of ammunition, provisions, and necessaries, that the garrison, for

Accounts of S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt Prince, a man of singular abilities

(27) Comir and Dig, fortresses of which wonders are reported, were two of those strongholds of his; Bellem-gur was another. The ramparts, and of course the ditch, of Dig were of such dimensions as would astonish an European Engineer.

years together, would not have wanted anything from abroad. So that if we were to make a description of their fortifications, or an enumeration of their means of defence, we would be found to have wrote a book, and to have involved ourselves in a complete volume. In one word, if we except a certain number of famous fortresses in India, which are still more indebted to Nature than to Art, there was nothing in his time that could stand in comparison with those four castles of his, especially in the quantity and quality of the stores. He had in his stables twelve thousand horses, mounted by so many picked men, amongst whom he had himself introduced an exercise of firing at a mark on horse-back, and then wheeling round in order to load under shelter; and these men had by continual and daily practice become so expeditious and so dangerous marksmen, and withal so expert in their evolutions, that there were no troops in India that could pretend to face them in the field. Nor was it thought possible for any Indian Prince to wage war against such a Prince with any prospect of advantage. Many a time did the Marhattas, and many a time did the Abdalies, invade his country. In such a case he never failed to retire into his fortresses with his people, and to bid defiance to these invaders; nor did he ever pay any contributions to any of them. And it was with such a variety of military talents he had already vigorously supported his character in his many engagements with the Afghans and the Rohillahs, when he went to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's assistance. He constantly beat the one and the other, and always came off victorious. Insomuch that no less a man than such a Vezir thought proper to apply for his succour, and always found it an effectual one. But S8r8dj-mull was likewise very ambitious and restless; and, as his zemindary and dominions stretched in the very neighbourhood of Shah-djehan-abad, he was eternally bent on expelling his neighbours, and on taking possession of their lands. Such a conduct could not but excite perpetual disputes between Nedjib-ed-döwlah and him; so that they looked with an evil eye at each other like two men inclined to come to blows together on the first occasion. It may be even said that Nedjib-ed-döwlah was uneasy at his power and character, and that he concealed his inquietude thereon. For there was no General and no Prince in India that

He disciplines a body of cavalry after a method of his own.

would choose to risk a war against him; an assertion proved beyond doubt by the effectual assistance which he gave in person to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan in his wars with Mahmed-qhan-bangash and the Afghans; and afterwards by the superiority with which he always fought the Marhattas, rendering himself at all times respectable, not only to the Vezir Umad-el-mulk and to Zulficar-djung, but to the Abdalies themselves. This is so far true that Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's successes against the Afghans are in a great measure attributed to the Djatt Prince's assistance. Nevertheless as his days were counted, and his last moment was come, all these fortifications, all these excellent troops, and all this formidable character of his, availed nothing, and he was slain in an inconsiderable skirmish. He is slain.

A Colony of Bal8ches had settled themselves for some time in the Districts of Feroh-nugur, where in the reign of Mahmed-shah an extraordinary man had appeared amongst them. This was one Camcar-qhan, a man who had good luck enough to acquire a character, and also influence enough to obtain the Fodjdary of the Gurd, that is of the rounds about the Capital and its environs. Several times he had been entrusted with the command of Panip8t, and some other Districts, where he had found means to bring to order and submission that whole territory, which was full of refractory, ungovernable people; and this conduct had drawn the applause of the Minister who in general left him in possession of both his office and his conquests. One of his Officers, named Bahadyr-qhan, who had raised his character during his master's life, had recommended himself so well to the Minister Umad-el-mulk, as to obtain the Fodjdary of Soharen-p8r, from whence he was re-called to his assistance, on the war breaking out between Ahmed-shah the Emperor of Hindostan, and his then Vezir, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan; in which expedition he assisted his protector so well, that he was thought worthy of the highest dignities, being promoted to the grade of seven thousand horse, with the insigné of the Mahi or Fish. But a peace having been concluded, and Umad-el-mulk having come to an agreement with Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, this Bal8ch, now a man of great character and eminent dignity, retired to a spot at twelve cosses distance from the Capital, where he raised a fort and a town which he called Bahadyr-p8r, after his own name, making

it his residence, as well as that of his family; so that in process of time it came to be known under the name of Bahadur-gur. Meanwhile his master, Camcar-qhan, dying soon after, dissensions arose between his children and his Commanders; of which S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, availed himself to fall upon the Bal8ch Colony, and to make himself master of Revari and Feroh-nugur, of which he kept possession. He wanted also to render himself master of Bahadyr-gur; when the Bal8ch thinking himself an unequal match for such an aggressor, applied to Nedjib-ed-dowlah for assistance, and spoke vigorously on the impropriety of neglecting his protection. The remonstrance had little effect; and the Djatt Prince, finding from this cautious behaviour of Nedjib-ed-dowlah that he was afraid of a war, became the more daring, and he requested the Fodjdary of the environs of Shah-djehan-abad, called the Fodjdary of the Gurd or Circuit, and that of Carvar. Nedjib-ed-dowlah unwilling to see matters come to a rupture, sent him a person of consequence, called Yac8b-qhan; a brother of the Abdali-king's Vezir, and who had sometimes commanded in Shah-djehan-abad, as Governor-General. The instructions to this envoy were to endeavour, by mild words, to bring matters to a pacification, so as to smother the seeds of tumult and war. The envoy had brought with him the Radja Dilir-sing the Catri, as his associate, and two pieces of M8ltan-chintz, of exquisite beauty(28), as a present; and these being elegantly painted in those favourite colours of the Gentoos, yellow and pink, proved a present exceedingly welcome to S8r8dj-mull, who ordered their being made into a Djammah or Gown for his person, immediately. The conference being

(28) The Europeans who cannot believe that there are in India plain red cotton handkerchiefs of five or six Crowns a piece, and Mulmuis of a hundred and two hundred, will never be brought to believe that there are Chintz or Callicoes of M8ltan, of an admirable fineness and painting, that form Gowns and Djammahs of four hundred Crowns a piece. They are of so exquisite a fineness that the two pieces are brought always in the Chonga of a Bamboo, that is, in the empty space contained in a bit of that reed between two knots. The Turband and Girdle are brought in another; and we have seen several such Poshacs, worth eight hundred Rupees and more. The Poshac implies the Turband and Girdle, with two pieces of ten yards each, for the Djammah. A Djammah of Shaul would not cost much more, in these days. The Chonga is a cylinder of about one foot or more in length, and two or three inches diameter, more or less.

interrupted by this incident, Yac8b-qhan rose, and in taking his leave, he said: "*My Lord Radja, I hope you shall not resolve "upon anything, as I shall come again to-morrow.*" S8r8dj-mull answered, that if he came for a pacification only, he had better not come at all. "*By all means,*" added he, "*do not "come.*" The negotiation ending there, Yac8b-qhan returned with one Kerem-ollah, a faithful servant which Nedjib-ed-dowlah had given him, and being arrived in this Minister's presence, he commenced discoursing on the possibility of bringing matters to a pacification by fair words and patience. My Lord, interrupted Kerem-ollah, "*If there is the least spark of honor left in "your breast, you shall come to war immediately; there is no "other remedy, and no other party. And this is the result of "the whole embassy.*" Nedjib-ed-dowlah, turning towards him, answered: "*True, and I hope to do for this uncircumcised.*" After saying so much, he sent for his sons, Atzyl-qhan, Soltan-qhan, and Zabetah-qhan, and ordered them to keep themselves in readiness to cross the Djumnah to-morrow, at Rhadj-ghat; he also directed several Commanders of his, then present, to attend with their troops. These were Saadet-qhan, Sadyc-qhan, Man-qhan, and Mahmed-qhan-bangash, with some others. "*You must "cross over early to-morrow,*" said Nedjib-ed-dowlah, "*and fight "this proud uncircumcised.*" And they prepared themselves accordingly; but the distance being so small, S8r8dj-mull was beforehand with them, and at the head of his troops, he had already crossed the little river Heniden, and commenced intrenching himself on its banks over against the ford of the Djumnah. Nedjib-ed-dowlah, prevented by this manœuvre, advanced by the Gandj or Mart of Shah-dera, of which he took possession; but which he left behind him, as a good post to secure his rear. After which he ordered Afzol-qhan, his eldest son, to charge at the head of his vanguard, and the engagement commenced directly. S8r8dj-mull had placed apart from his army a body of ten thousand of those horse mounted and disciplined after his own method, and anxious to determine on what part of the enemy they should fall first, he quitted their ranks, and advancing between the two armies, with a small number of friends, of which Kelim-ollah-qhan, son to Yahya-qhan, his Monshy or Secretary, was one, he was galloping up and down, to examine the field of

War between Nedjib-ed-dŏwlah and S8r8dj-mull.

battle, and to make his choice, after which he stopped awhile to make his considerations. Whilst he was thus standing, there passed by him some of Afzol-qhan's troopers, who having been beaten by Mansaram the Djatt, who commanded S8r8dj-mull's vanguard, were flying by troops one after another. The few people that were with S8r8dj-mull, represented the impropriety of his remaining so near the enemy with only a few friends about his person; and Kelim-ollah-qhan, with Mirza-sëif-ollah, respectfully insisted on his returning. He paid no attention to what they said, and seemed intent only on considering the enemy's motions. They both renewed their instances, and he gave no answer; but sending for another horse, he mounted, and stood in the same place. Whilst he was mounting, it happened that Sëyd Mahmed-qhan, Bal8ch, better known under the name of Sëyd8, was just flying close by him with about forty or fifty troopers; when one of these turning about recollected S8r8dj-mull's features, and advancing to Sëyd8, he cried. *That the man he was seeing there alone with a few men, was no other than S8r8dj-mull himself.* "*I know him well,*" said the man; "*shall "we miss such an opportunity? If we do, we shall never see "it again.*" Sëyd8 hearing these words, turned about and fell upon S8r8dj-mull; and one of his men, singling the Djatt Prince, smote him with his sabre, and cut off one of his arms, which by-the-bye was maimed and actually entangled. Whilst the arm was falling off, two other men rushed together upon him and soon dispatched him, as well as Mirza-sëif-ollah and Radja Amur-sing, and two or three more. The few remaining, put spurs to their horses, and fled towards their own people. But one of Sëyd8's troopers taking up the severed arm, fixed it on the spear of a standard, and carried it to Nedjib-ed-dowlah. The latter could not believe it to be S8r8dj-mull's, and continued doubting of it for two whole days together. But it was past doubt in the Djatt army, which had retreated with still a formidable countenance. The second day Nedjib-ed-dowlah having received a visit from Yac8b-qhan, shewed him the arm, and the latter at once affirmed it to be S8r8dj-mull's, not only from the maimed appearance, but also from the sleeve which was on it, and which happened to be of that very Calico of M8ltan which S8r8dj-mull had put on in his presence. After this the death was ascertained,

S8r8dj-mull ...ain in a sin...ular manner.

and it became public. This death is an event the more extraordinary, as it had always been observed of S8r8dj-mull, that in all his battles he never exposed his person to unnecessary danger, but reserved himself in some eminent spot, from whence he was issuing his orders, often boasting that battles were to be gained by art and conduct much more than by courage and forwardness. But at this time, however, probably because fate had overtaken him, he seemed to have forgotten this caution, and he remained almost alone in that dangerous spot, where at last he was cut down, and where, by his death, he relinquished to Nedjib-ed-dōwlah a victory which no one had expected.

He was succeeded by Djevaher-mull, the eldest and most capable of his sons, but who, listening only to sentiments of pride and resentment, quitted the highroad of discernment and common sense by which his father had always distinguished the favorable moment, and sent for a body of Marhattas whom he took into his pay. After which, he besieged the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, to which Nedjib-ed-dōwlah had retired. The siege lasted forty or fifty days, when the young man, tired of such a tedious work, proposed an accommodation through the mediation of Radja Dilir-sing, and the Marhatta General, Malhar, who agreed that they should give the meeting to each other in the Plain of Qhyzur-abad, where in fact they had an interview, and where the war and troubles were brought to an end. After this treaty, Djevaher-mull took into his pay Semro the Franghi, or European, the same, who after having been raised from an abject state to honours and to power by his master, Mir-cassem-qhan, forgot the high obligations he was under to him, and betrayed him into Shudjah-ed-dōwlah's hands, by which he effectually ruined his benefactor and his whole family. Nor did he prove more faithful to his new master; he gave him the slip, and carried away thousands of flint muskets, many field-pieces, and a quantity of artillery, all which had been Mir-cassem-qhan's property. From that day he became independent. It was this man whom Djeavher-mull took into his service. Proud of this junction, and finding himself at the head of vast treasures as well as a numerous army, he attacked Radja Djehi-sing-sevāi, successor to Maha-radja Dehiraj, and besieged him in Djehi-nugur. But there at last he met with what he deserved

Dissension in his family

for his perpetual encroachments, and quarrelsome disposition; for although he had the advantage of an army disciplined by his father, and a good artillery served by Somro, he was shamefully beaten by the Radjp8ts, and obliged to return with his full measure of shame and loss. But no sooner was he arrived in his own country, than he put to death a number of persons that had been for years together in his father's service, and some of them in his favour. After all these executions he put one Häider, a Chopdar of his own, at the head of his affairs and of his army; a measure that lost him the hearts of his troops, and shocked his Commanders to such a degree, that one of them resolved to fall upon him and to put him to death. The man having found a favourable moment, killed him upon his very Mesned. He was succeeded by Räo Ratan-chund, one of S8r8dj-mull's sons. This Prince happening to be impotent, desired nothing so much as virile powers, and on that account he listened to the suggestions of a certain Bäyraghi, or Attit-fakyr, who pretending himself skilled in Alchemy, obtained from his credulity several sums of money. When the impostor saw himself pressed for the remedy in question, he found no other way of extricating himself than that of killing his patient. Under pretence, therefore, of wanting to be alone with him in a retired place, he fell upon the Prince and killed him; and after such an execution he was making the best of his way out of the Palace, when he was stopped and put to death in his turn. Räo Ratan-chund was succeeded by his brother, Nevol-sing; but a younger brother of his, by name Rendjit, having gained the favour of one Hansïa(29), one of his father's concubines, took possession of the Fortress of Dig, and of all the treasures and stores hoarded up there; by which revolution so many new dissensions and troubles arose in the country, that the principality seemed dismembered; and that formidable power, raised with so much policy and valour by his father, was entirely stripped of its energy, and reduced to its original insignificancy.

Good character of Nedjib-ed-döwlah.

Nedjib-ed-döwlah's power, on the contrary, rose to the utmost height. He became absolute in Shah-djehan-abad. He was himself a man of merit, and although an Afghan, (for after all, the Rohillahs are only the best of that race) he was attached

(29) Hansïa signifies the smiling.

to the rules of justice and equity, wished well to every one, and studied the repose and welfare of the people of God. But almost all his followers, or even all of them, were Rohillahs; and after all, the Rohillahs are but the best of a race of men, in whose blood it would be difficult to find one or two single individuals endowed with good nature, and with sentiments of equity. In one word, they were Afghans, and that unbridled soldiery exerted upon the inhabitants of the Capital, most of whom were gentlemen of character or noblemen of ancient race, such violences and such extortions, and they invented such new ways of tormenting them, that nothing like is to be imagined, nor is there mentioning those violences with any decency, or even to any purpose. The sufferers have suffered, and past is what is past. Nor did these abominations cease until Nedjib-ed-döwlah himself fell sick, and thinking the climate of the Capital unfavourable for his distemper, he repaired to Nedjib-gur, where he suffered the pains of a lingering sickness that seemed to have no end. At last he submitted to the inexorable Tyrant from whom there is no release, and died in a bed in which he had languished for years together. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Zabeta-qhan, the only one amongst them that resembled his father, and seemed to have inherited part of his valuable qualifications. This Prince, for a length of time, bore an absolute sway in Shah-djehan-abad, where he not only gave a general satisfaction by his personal behaviour, but where he applied himself, more than his father had done, in repressing his Rohillahs, and in bringing them under some controul. Some malevolent people having found means to excite discontents, and an open revolt amongst his brothers, he beat them all in the field, but took no other revenge than that of assigning lands and a proper revenue to each of them, as if he had been intent only on gaining their affections. At last he had a quarrel with the Marhattas, and we shall see in the sequel the consequences it produced, as soon as we shall have cast a view on Shah-aalem's person and Court.

Very bad one of his countrymen.

His death.

Is succeeded by his son, Zabeta-qhan, a Prince of good character.

We have mentioned that Aaly-goher, since called Shah-aalem, had chosen his residence in Ilah-abad. Naturally low-minded, and of a turn of genius that wanted both acuteness and vigor, he could not live without being governed by some one

of his people, and he passed his time in that city, governed by Munnir-ed-döwlah, his Minister, but always profoundly submissive to the pleasure of the English Commanders stationed there. Nevertheless, he of himself became sick of such a submissive inactive life, and being desirous of living in the Palace of Shah-djehan-abad, and of shewing himself with the pomp of an Emperor to the inhabitants of that Capital, he availed himself of Nedjib-ed-döwlah's death to take his final resolution on that subject; and he commenced looking out for such persons as might assist and support him, when once in the Capital. Numbers of discontented people in that mighty city repined at the prevalence of the Afghan administration, under which no office was given to any but to a Rohillah, and they were this long while brooding upon their own discontents. All these being happy to hear of a Prince of such a ductile temper, took care to applaud his resolution, and to inform him that the Marhattas were the only people in the world capable of promoting his designs. With this view Sëif-eddin-mahommed-qhan, brother to Akybet-mahm8d-qhan, the Cashmirian, set out for Decan, where he entered into a treaty with the Marhatta rulers, digested into many articles, and confirmed by reciprocal oaths and protestations. After having succeeded so happily in his negotiation he returned to Ilah-abad, where he presented letters from them, purporting their attachment to the Imperial cause, and their readiness to support its interest. Such overtures engaged the Emperor to declare his resolution publicly, but it was opposed by his Minister, Munnir-ed-döwlah, and then by the English, and lastly by Shudjah-ed-döwlah, who all represented the inconveniencies and dangers to which his design was liable. The Prince was immovable; he said that his final resolution was taken, and that he could live no longer in Ilah-abad. The English, seeing him bent on following his own inclination, reluctantly gave their consent; but Munnir-ed-döwlah refused to follow him. He had already made a private treaty with the English, by taking from them a lease of the revenues of the Provinces of C8rrah and Ilah-abad, and they had rewarded his attachment by presenting him with a Djaghir or appanage of one lac of rupees, which they had assigned upon the product of Mahin-poor, and likewise upon Shah-djehan-poor and Arvel; all dependencies of the Province of Bahar and

Shah-aalem resolves to repair to the Capital of Hindostan.

Opposed by the English, and by his Ministers.

Parts willingly with the dominions of Ilah-abad and C8rrah.

Azim-abad. That Minister continued in the government of the two Provinces of Ilah-abad and C8rrah, until about one year after this transaction, when the Navvab Djeladet-djung Bahadyr(30), the Governor Mr. Hushtin, came to Banares, where he entered into a treaty with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, by which this Prince took upon himself the government of those two provinces; and then Munnir-ed-dowlah paid exactly the balances due by him, but falling sick at that very time, he winged his flight towards eternity. His body was brought to Azim-abad, and buried in a Mausoleum, which he had prepared for himself. It was in a corner of Assed-ollah-qhan's house, a palace which he had purchased, and which had then fallen to the share of Kerim-c8ly-qhan, his eldest son. May God Almighty's forgiveness rest upon him!

As to Mirza-nedjef-qhan, he followed the Emperor. Shudjah-ed-dowlah accompanied him for several days likewise, and omitted nothing that could dissuade him from his design, but in vain. Whilst they were travelling by Feroh-abad, Ahmed-qhan-bangash, Sovereign of that city, whose beneficent turn of mind had engaged him to grant suitable pensions to a number of decayed noblemen and gentlemen of the Capital, deprived of their revenues, and who besides had approved himself the declared protector of the poor and distressed, came to depart this life. He answered his Lord's call by saying, "*I am ready, my Lord*(31)," and quitting this fragile world, he repaired to the celestial mansions. Shah-aalem, on the very first news of his death, marched close to the walls of Feroh-abad, and in compliance with that shocking custom of the Babrian Princes, by which they become universal heirs to all their officers, he sharpened his teeth, and set them against the movable estate of the deceased Prince. The relations observing how much he seemed bent on getting the whole of it, and that he had encamped at the very gates of Feroh-abad for that

Continues his journey.

(30) These words signify the "Impetuous in War."

(31) *Labeic, Allahooma, Lebeic.* These words, after a profession of faith, are always pronounced by all dying men, or by men in great danger; they are also pronounced aloud by thousands at a time at the Pilgrimage of Mecca, where all Pilgrims coming to ask pardon of their sins, to die to their late lives and to commence new ones, put themselves in an Ehram or winding-sheet, and cry aloud those tremendous words.

very purpose, availed themselves of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's mediation, and they engaged him to accept from Muzafer-djung, the deceased's eldest son, a certain sum of money, in lieu of all his pretensions. Shah-aalem having carried his point, and taken up such a booty, continued his journey to the Capital, and dismissed Shudjah-ed-dowlah to his own dominions. The latter shewed every mark of esteem and regard to Muzafer-djung, and sent his own son to condole with him on his father's death; after which he returned to his own Capital, where he applied himself closely to his own affairs, and where he continued to befriend the sons of Mahmed-qhan-bangash, with as much regard and attention as if they had been committed to his care.

Seizes by the way on a rich estate.

We have said that an application had been made to the Marhattas of Decan on the part of Shàh-aalem. Few of them had escaped from the edge of the Abdalie's sabre, and those that had so much good luck, were rather skulking than living in those distant parts, when their hopes were revived by his embassy. Concluding that, under pretence of assisting Shah-aalem, they would in fact establish their own power and regain the footing they had lost in Hindostan, they prepared forces and set out for the Capital. Whilst they were on their march, Zabeta-qhan thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Sensible of the cordial enmity they had borne to his father, and of course to his whole family, he quitted his own Capital, and repaired to Soharen-p8r-b8riah, and to Nedjib-gur, a country which had been acquired long ago by his father, who had it fortified to his mind. There he took up his residence, strengthened his post, and prepared himself for a vigorous defence. By this time the Marhattas were arrived about the Capital of the Empire, where they took possession of every District in the environs, without meddling, however, with the Prince Djuvan-baqht, who was shut up within the walls of the citadel, with the bare name of Sovereign. Immediately after, they also sent a detachment to sack the country of Zabeta-qhan. The Emperor, meanwhile, being arrived, took up his abode in the Imperial Palace within the citadel. He had been met on the road by Abdol-ahed-qhan, the Cashmirian, son to Abdol-medjid-qhan, a nobleman, who being exceedingly wary, artful, and capable of adapting himself to the complexion of the times, had found means to live upon

Arrives in his Capital.

good terms with every one, and had been greatly considered both by Nedjib-ed-döwlah and by his son, Zabeta-qhan. He was now received with great distinction by Shah-aalem, and soon became a favourite with him, to the great regret of Seif-eddin-mahmed-qhan, who, having been at all the trouble and expense of the voyage to Decan, and of the whole negotiation with the Marhattas, found now that he had missed his aim, and was totally neglected. Abdol-ahed-qhan, engrossing now the Imperial mind, was soon decorated with the titles of "The "Glorious of the State, the Lord of the Age, my Valiant son, the "Hero Ever Victorious in War (32)," and he became the Prime Minister; whilst the Emperor retired within the Imperial Seraglio, which he had so much longed to see, plunged himself into all kinds of pleasures and delicacies, and remained plunged in them. But Mirza-nedjef-qhan, the hero of his time, being of too active a mind to addict himself to such a life, now commenced to aspire to the highest dignities and rank, and to conceive that nothing was above the reach of his valor. He was incessantly occupied in preparing the necessaries of war, and in assembling as many braves adventurers as he could attach to his own person.

By this time the Marhattas, after sacking and ruining Zabeta-qhan's country, were returned to the neighbourhood of Shah-djehan-abad, where not content with setting an exhorbitant price on their past services, they had become quite overbearing and insolent. The Emperor applied to Nedjef-qhan for assistance, and this officer, although so inferior and unprepared, thought himself equal to the task of chastising such powerful enemies; and with that intention he marched out of the city walls and encamped in the suburbs. The next day, a skirmish took place, and was succeeded by many others, in which, notwithstanding his small numbers, he always came off victorious. But whilst he was fighting abroad, his enemies, amongst which Abdol-ahed-qhan, Hyssam-eddin-qhan, and Bahadyr-qhan cut so

Falls out with the Marhattas.

(32) Mudjed-ed-döwlah, Qhan-zeman, Furzend-qhan-bahadyr, Behram-djung: all these titles (and this is to be observed once for all) had two hundred years ago always a reference to the man's character, as those of Duke, Count, and Marquis had in Europe to the office of the incumbent. Now both the one and the other are become mere titles of rank, and no more.

conspicuous a figure, were actually undermining his influence at home. Those men who had all along fawned to him, although in reality they could not bear his presence, (and there is a known adage, that cowards and braves never agree together) finding now that the field was left open by his absence, resolved to disappoint his views by making a peace with the Marhattas, as the only method to come at Nedjef-qhan, and to undermine a power which his personal prowess had rendered formidable. The most ardent in this scheme was that vile Hyssam-eddin-qhan, who was the man most in favor with the Emperor, and who could not bear so much as Nedjef-qhan's presence. Without giving that General the least notice of the negotiation set on foot, he engaged the Emperor to enter into a treaty with the Marhattas; and the latter, who were thoroughly sensible that this General was the only man of merit at Court, and the only opposer they had to dread, admitted whatever conditions and whatever terms were proposed to them; perfectly satisfied that Nedjef-qhan being once put out of the way, it would be an easy matter to manage and subdue a pusillanimous Prince, supported by a set of timorous, low-minded Ministers. They, therefore conformed themselves to the circumstances, and subscribed to whatever was requested. After this treaty of peace, the guards that were upon the towers and ramparts, and at the gates of the city, received orders to admit the Marhattas, and these being set open, those infidels marched into the city, and took up their quarters everywhere; after which their Commanders went to the citadel, and paid their respects to the imperial presence.

Is vigorously supported by his General, Nedjef-qhan.

Who is himself in great danger from Court intrigues.

Mirza-nedjef-qhan hearing of this pacification, was astonished and confounded; but finding that all was over, he returned within the city himself, and took up his abode in his own house, where he was suddenly assaulted by a demand which he had never so much as suspected. The Emperor, eternally obseded by his three favourites, who hated Nedjef-qhan heartily, and intirely governed by Hyssam-eddin-qhan, who was the leader amongst them, and could not bear to be eclipsed by so superior a character, sent the Marhattas word, that he had assigned upon Nedjef-qhan the sum of money promised them, and that they were therefore to get it from him by enforcing payment. All

this affair was conducted by that vile *Hyssam-eddin-qhan, who* served his two associates by serving his own *aversion to that* hero: an aversion which proved the main hinge of all his actions, although he was too timorous to betray any signs of it. He undertook to ruin him intirely by filling the ears and minds of the Marhatta Commanders with reports that could not but excite enmity, and nourish aversion and hatred. *In one word*, he gave them to understand that Nedjef-qhan, by his turn of mind equally ambitious and restless, was the only author of the dissensions that had taken place between the Emperor and them; and that this would be the case for ever, so long as that General should remain alive. The Marhatta Commander, incensed by all these instigations, sent a threatening message to Nedjef-qhan, requiring him to provide for the sum assigned upon him by the Emperor; and strange as seemed this message, the imbecile Monarch had the weakness to suggest almost every word of it. That brave man who saw now that his life was aimed at, resolved to sacrifice it to his honour; he refused to submit to oppression and infamy, and this resolution of his was announced by a vigorous answer. Some days were spent in messages and answers, and in sending and receiving envoys, a delay of which Mirza-nedjef-qhan availed himself to prepare for his defence. With about four hundred men, that had zealously remained attached to his cause, he resolved to repel force by force, and to perish if necessary, but not without selling his life to the highest bidder. The Marhatta General, who knew Nedjef-qhan to be a man of undaunted resolution, finding that he was resolved to shed his blood as well as that of others, became sensible at the same time that it was impossible that a soldier of fortune, like him, should really be worth so much money, as his accusers pretended. He rightly concluded that his insisting upon such a payment would end in much blood-shed, and in the death of thousands of brave men that must be necessarily sacrificed before a hand could be laid upon him. He, therefore, became very cool in this undertaking, being convinced, besides, that the death of so brave a man could never redound to his honour, but would remain an eternal stain on his own character, which henceforward might become an object of detestation and contempt amongst both friends and foes. Resolved, therefore, to see the bottom of this dark affair, and to live upon

some terms with that General, he sent him word that he wished to have a conference with him, at the same time accompanying the message with a safe conduct in due form. Nedjef-qhan consented, and putting himself at the head of his zealous followers, all armed as well as himself, he went to the Marhatta camp. Tagodji, for such was the Marhatta General's name, on descrying him from afar, came out of the paling of his tent, and saw him alight; after which he embraced him with the utmost regard, as an equal, and taking him by the hand, he conducted him within the tent, where he made him sit with himself upon his own Mesned. He then apologised for the message he had sent, and professed a high regard for his person. At the end of the visit, he made him a present of elephants, war-horses, precious stuffs, arms, jewels, and gems of great value, and he dismissed him with every demonstration of regard and esteem.

But in the end comes out of them gloriously.

This visit, having substituted acquaintance and amity for distance and distrust, produced in its consequences a reconciliation between the Emperor and Nedjef-qhan. In a conference before that Prince, it was resolved to attack Zabeta-qhan in his own country, and to make an end of him by re-annexing all those districts to the Crown. After this the Emperor, with Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, departed together from the Capital. But Zabeta-qhan, informed of such a combination, did not think himself a match for it in the field, and sending therefore his family and consort, with all the persons of his father's family, on the other side of the Ganga, he resolved to make a stand on this side, having thrown his army in the Fortress of Ghous-gur and the intrenched camp under Sukur-tal. He also sent one of his brothers with a detachment on the Rohillah-side of the Ganga to secure his convoys. Whilst he was waiting for the enemy, Mirza-nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas had already taken leave of the Emperor at the second stage from the Capital, and they had marched into the enemy's country, where they encircled the camp at Sukur-tal. A number of skirmishes taking place, Zabeta-qhan was not pleased with his situation, and hearing at the same time that the Ganga had become fordable in many places, he sent a message to his friends on the other side of the water, that is to Hafyz-rahment and the children of Doondy-qhan, as well as to Faiz-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-qhan,

Regains the confidence of the Emperor.

Who resolves to strip the Rohillas of their usurped territories.

Rohillah. The purport of his representation was this: "That "the Marhattas not being informed yet of the river's having "become fordable, they, his brethren, might still come down "in force, cover their several countries, secure thereby his own "dominions, and insure likewise his rear and his convoys. "That if they retarded marching to the banks of the river, and "that meanwhile the enemy should get an information of some "ford, he would not fail to cross over, to ravage their country, "and to intercept his convoys; in which case he would himself "become an easy prey, and their own turn would follow imme-"diately, after which all would be involved in one common ruin. "Conceive, then, the consequences of a few days' delay, and "act accordingly."

The Rohillah Princes, convinced of the truth of such a remonstrance, became sensible of their own dangers, and every one having assembled his troops, marched down to the banks of the Ganga. Zabeta-qhan, to facilitate a communication threw a bridge of boats upon the river, and thereby rendered the access of provisions and forage easy, and of little expense; and he intended to defend to the last the fort and camp of Sukur-tal. The Rohillah Princes likewise crossed the river, paid a visit to Zabeta-qhan, and a consultation having been held amongst them, it was resolved that such Generals as were already arrived, should extend their troops all along the shores for twenty and thirty cosses together, against the stream, so as to secure all the fords above Sukur-tal; and that such as were coming successively, should take post at those fords which were below Sukur-tal, in the same extent of country. This manœuvre, by discovering a number of fords to the enemy, of which they did not entertain even a suspicion, put them upon looking out for others. Upon examination, it was found that the river was fordable almost everywhere, and that the crossing over would prove easy. After this discovery they made no movement for two or three days, their intention being to lull the Rohillahs to sleep; and then Nedjef-qhan and the Marhatta General mounting together advanced against the current, as if to look out for a ford, and as they went on, they passed by several, which they all found guarded. But the guards thinking that the enemy intended to cross over much higher than their posts, became

Nedjef-qhan crosses the Ganga, and overcomes the Rohillas.

negligent in their encampment, and most of them believing the enemy gone some days' journey farther, quitted their posts, and went over to the other encampments to see their friends. By this manœuvre, some posts were left without either guard or defence, and the Marhattas, who kept an attentive eye every-where, being informed of this, turned bridle at once and came back on a full gallop at one of the fords which they had passed, and which they now found unguarded. Without giving the enemy time to recover from their neglect and surprise, they pushed to the middle of the water, and were crossing over. The brave Mirza-nedjef-qhan commanded the forlorn hope, and he pushed through the water vigorously, whilst the Marhattas were shewing themselves at another ford. The Rohillah General who commanded there, forced by these circumstances, quitted his post with the few men he found at hand, marched to oppose Nedjef-qhan, and took post on an eminence. This being seen by the neighbouring Commanders, two of them flew to his assistance, and joining the third, they commenced a fire of musketry and rockets upon the enemy. Mirza-nedjef-qhan, who was preceded by some Zemberecs(33), ordered that kind of artillery to stand in the middle of the water, and to fire on the eminence; and he was so well served by fortune, that the very first discharge killed outright the three Rohillah Commanders; and here it must be recollected that the Rohillahs are a race exceeding covetous, little susceptible of controul, and of such a temper as to prove ungovernable on the sight of ever so little plunder. The moment they saw their three Commanders slain, they commenced plundering each other immediately; and a scene of confusion, and wounding and slaughtering taking place, they rushed furiously against each other, lost sight of every other object, and thought only of plunder and booty. Luckily for them that Mirza-nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, satisfied for that day with the success of their trial, had returned to their camp.

(33) Zemberecs are long swivels, of one or two pounds ball. Two of them are carried fastened upon the saddle of a camel, and when they are to be brought into play, the camel is, as usual, made to kneel on the ground, but to prevent his rising, each leg is fastened, bent as it is, with cord, and the animal remains immoveable.

But meanwhile the report spreading on the other side of the water, that the Marhattas had crossed over and slain three Rohillah Generals, a panic seized the troops of Zabeta-qhan and as they had already been severely handled by the Marhattas in their unfortunate stand against Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, they took fright and dispersed. Without seeing an enemy or even a couched spear, or a drawn sabre, they all fled from their camp, but retained still so much of the Rohillah in their very flight, as to fall mercilessly upon each other, and to make booty of whatsoever they could lay their hands upon. This intelligence being carried to the garrison placed by Zabeta-qhan within Sukur-tal, the contagion seized them also, and they fell a plundering and killing each other; nor would they have forborne plundering Zabeta-qhan's palace likewise, had they not been overawed by his presence as well as by a small number of his relations and kinsmen who put themselves upon their defence. After this fine performance, they set open the gates, and dispersed, every one intent solely on securing what booty he had made. Zebeta-qhan, confounded at such a reverse of fortune, sent word to Fateh-qhan to come over, as he wanted to speak to him immediately. This Fateh-qhan was a Rohillah Chieftain, who had come to his assistance of his own accord, and had encamped over against Sukur-tal. Fateh-qhan was thunderstruck with the general panic and desertion. He proposed to Zabeta-qhan to remain in the Fort as late as the dusk of the evening, and then to cross over to his camp, with what troops he could collect, after which they had no other party left than that of engaging for once the Marhattas in the field, and trying what fortune might produce in their behalf. Fateh-qhan being returned to his own camp, assembled his officers and relations, and imparted his resolution to them. But the effect made by his harangue is hardly credible. No sooner did these men hear of what had happened on both sides of the water, than they were seized themselves with a panic resembling a contagion, and quitting the assembly, they went home, collected their baggage, and dispersed every one his own way; and within an hour's time no trace of that body of troops could be discovered all over the plain. Fateh-qhan without being dismayed, turned to his son, and bid him go over with some of the few troopers that remained, to bring away his brother who had been to see

The Rohillas plunder each other and disperse.

Strong intrenchments of Sukur-tal abandoned by them.

Zabeta-qhan. The young man mounted, with some horsemen, but was hardly arrived at the bridge, when the contagion seized his followers also, who fell upon their Lord and commenced stripping him. The young man returned without a turbant, and with his clothes torn upon his back. Fateh-qhan, finding that his case was desperate and past remedy, assembled a few troopers and servants, and putting himself at their head, he fled, resolved to retire to some place of safety. By the way, he alighted in a populous town; but here one of his men chancing to have a dispute with a grain merchant, the Rohillahs, always true to their national genius, went behind his shop, and set it on fire; and the fire communicating from near to near, consumed not only all the cahuts, but even the brick-houses and other soild buildings in the neighbourhood so effectually, that there did not remain so much as a trace of the town. A person of character, who was then with Fateh-qhan, used to recount that the multitude of those that fled, did not fall short of ten thousand horse and foot. And as they were passing by a field of Bid-andjir trees(34) that were now and then waving with the wind, that whole multitude stopped short, remained silent, and trembled in all its limbs, having taken the above field for a body of Marhatta spear men; nor did they recover their senses, but after some light horse had gone near and made their report; then only did those ten thousand armed men find courage enough to go on with their flight. Meanwhile Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas finding no enemy in the field, marched into the country of Zabeta-qhan, and drew smoke from the breasts of his relations, family, and consorts, as well as from all the inhabitants. The Rohillah Prince, unable to make the least resistance, fled and took shelter in Shudjah-ed-dowlah's country. The latter consented to become a mediator between the children of Hafyz-rahmet and the other Afghans on one hand, and Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, on the other. Luckily for the Afghans that great dissensions having at this very time arisen amongst the Marhattas themselves, those that were now at war with the Rohillahs received orders from P8nah to repair in all speed to Decan. Proposals of a pacification coming at such a conjuncture from Shudjah-ed-dowlah, became

Zabeta-qhan undone.

(34) Fig-villow · a strange compound word, for which the author is only accountable.

highly acceptable. A treaty was concluded, and they turned towards Shah-djéhan-abad in their way to Decan. Mirza-nedjef-qhan returned with them; but the Marhatta Commanders had during this campaign conceived such a high opinion of his character, that in taking leave of the Emperor, they earnestly recommended him to his attention, and moreover appointed him their own Agent at his Imperial Court. A peace. The Marhattas retire.

Nedjef-qhan, now raised very high both in consequence of the opinion the world had conceived of his character, and by the additional weight he derived from the Marhattas' recommendation, turned his thoughts towards the means of rising to the highest honors, and to the summit of power; and as he conceived that it would be good policy to keep fair with the Emperor and his Ministers, he resolved to make conquests in the neighbourhood of the Capital, in countries which seemed to acknowledge the Imperial authority, but where in fact it had not the shadow of power. He therefore asked and obtained the government of several Districts close to the Capital, possessed long ago by the Djatts, and where no officer and no collector from the Emperor had ever dared to shew his face. He afterwards called about his person a number of soldiers of fortune and other resolute men, to whom for the present he could afford but a small pay, but whom he rendered hearty and zealous, by promising them a share in the benefits of his future conquests, and the company of his person in every future danger. Having by these means assembled a good body of forces, he advanced at their head to the frontiers of Djatt country. But the son of S8r8dj-mull, who after having subdued all his brothers, was fully established in his paternal dominions, had been informed of Nedjef-qhan's designs, and was prepared to encounter him in the field. He had a numerous army of Djatts, and was of late reinforced by the whole of Somro's force, which amounted to fifteen or sixteen field-pieces, and six or seven thousand of those foot soldiers called Talinghas(35), and which are armed with flint muskets, and accoutred as well as disciplined in the Frenghi or European manner. The two armies met in the territory Projects and conquests of Nedjef-qhan.

(35) This is an oversight of the author. The Talinghas or sepahis, although armed and disciplined in the European manner, wear the Hindostany travelling dress, but adapted to their new way of life. *Look at the Note 70, Section IX.*

of Kevol and Djalisser, close to the highroad that leads from Acber-abad to the Capital. As Nedjef-qhan's troops were mostly raw soldiers, and this was the first action in which they had been engaged, some of them misbehaved and lagged behind, whilst those that attacked courageously were either slain or wounded. On the other hand, the Djatt cavalry lost some ground, and matters wore a bad aspect even in the Radja's army, when Somro with his field-pieces and his musketry, making his appearance, sent amongst the enemy's ranks such a shower of balls of all sorts, as gave them no time to recover their spirits, and to rally. All Nedjef-qhan's efforts to bring his dismayed troops to the charge proved ineffectual. He was himself wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, which made him lose much blood. But there happening to be at hand a large well(36), surrounded by a lofty rim of bricks, he retired behind it, staunched his blood, wrapped his arm with some linen, and then assembling some cavalry and some men of note that flocked round the well, he put himself at their head and returned to the charge, resolved not to survive a defeat. Those brave men having invoked together the name of God spurred their horses and rushed on a full gallop upon Somro's dressed ranks. It happened by a particular interposition of the Divine assistance that these soldiers, that had hitherto cut so formidable a figure in Hindostan, were broke in an instant, and losing their wonted steadiness, they fled on all sides, with Somro at their head, leaving a full victory to Nedjef-qhan's people. As soon as the Talinghas were perceived flying, whole squadrons of Nedej-qhan's troops, that had heretofore fled from the field of battle, and had hitherto been mere spectators of the last charge, wheeling at once about, crowded round their General, and having now

(36) The Indians have four words to express a well, and of course four kinds of wells. This which served Nedjef-qhan's turn, was of the Baoli kind. These are wells of about twenty or ten feet diameter, with a solid rim four or five feet high, of broad solid masonry, in which have been practised a flight of stairs for getting at the water, and also several niches and resting places for people loaded with a burthen, and also for sickly fatigued people, that want to descend or mount their horses. These wells have likewise an easy flight of stairs that goes from the fields down to the water's edge. There are thousands of such wells, and they are so many works of charity. All have either an adjoining grove, or at least a few fruit-trees; and there is almost always a Brahman that attends and gives water to all comers.

plucked fresh courage, they fell with fury upon both the runaways and upon that part of the Djatt cavalry that stood still to their ground; they mixed pell-mell with them, and gave the greatest part of the Djatt army for food to their famished sabres. A body of these, however, having got clear of the runaways, marched out of the field, with steady pace and a firm countenance, and returned to their homes with safety and honour.

Nedjef-qhan, after this glorious victory, requested of the Emperor the Government of Acber-abad-Agrah. The Emperor, who had never received the least revenue from that province, and who saw even now the Imperial Palace and the Citadel of Acber-abad in the hands of the Djatts, consented to invest him with that nominal Government, and the Ministers, like Hyssam-eddin-qhan and Abdol-ahed-qhan, with their party, who did not love the proximity of the new hero, made haste to send him as ample a patent as he could wish. As that extraordinary man's fortune seemed to have just risen as from a long sleep, and every one of her limbs was glowing with vigour, she soon gave a full existence to that nominal Government of his; and he forced the Citadel of Acber-abad to a surrender. Nedjef-qhan, sensible that his strength consisted in the number and goodness of his troops, and in the attachment of his Commanders, conceived that his situation forbade his thinking of hoarding up money, or of accumulating treasures. He therefore abandoned the whole booty found in the castle to his troops, and contented himself with such a share as had fallen to the lot of any of the Generals of his own army. By putting himself thereby upon an equality with his troops, he endeared his person to such a degree, that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he undertook the siege of Dig, a fortress built with so much strength and expense, that it was spoken of all over the world as a wonder of the age. It cost him a siege of fourteen months, but its capture raised his power to a pitch, and so much enhanced his character, that the Emperor thought proper to invest him with the office of "Prince of Princes", vacant by Nedjib-ed-dowlah's demise, and Zabeta-qhan's flight; and he also decorated him with the titles of "The Ever Victorious Two-edged "Sword of the State"(37). Meanwhile the son of Sor8dj-mull,

Beginning of Nedjef-qhan's fortune

He takes Acber-abad-Agra.

(37) Zulficar-ed-dowlah, Bahadyr, Ghalib-djung.

who had retired to another fortress of his, finding himself unable to stand before the new conqueror, sent to ask a peace; and the latter, unwilling to bring matters to an extremity, and to drive to despair a whole tribe, who although vanquished, might, for want of subsistence, give him a deal of trouble and harass his new conquests, agreed to very moderate terms, that secured the victor's dominions, and gave him an undisputed sway, but left to the vanquished enough to restrain their restlessness from the temptation of exciting troubles. Nedjef-qhan, by such a peace, entirely pacified the Djatts, and solidly established the foundation of a power that henceforward brought him to a par with the greatest Princes of Hindostan, and the most illustrious names existing.

Whilst fortune was raising one man to the skies, she was in that same territory depressing another in the deepest abyss of misery and grief. This was no less a man than Mir-mahmed-cassem-qhan, heretofore Viceroy of Bengal, who having departed this world about this time in that very territory, naturally furnishes a short article to our history. He had retired to the country of the Rohillahs, and having been well received by them, he was this long time availing himself of their protection to repose from the toils he had hitherto endured. But his character sticking close to him everywhere, and his suspicions inclining him to mistrust and ill-use others, his people were tired of living with him, and commenced deserting one after another. Mirza-shemseddin, his faithful friend, died in confinement. Nor was Sandul-aaly-qhan, an eunuch of an approved character and fidelity, much better used. This man, who had been and was still superintendent of his sanctuary, had been in pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he had repaired to Gohud, on hearing of his master's being there, and he had continued to serve him ever since. Even this man became an object of suspicion, and under pretence that if he had not been worth money he would not have come back from Mecca, he was daily tormented with reproachful expressions. Such a disposition of mind alienated all the hearts to such a degree, that his very menial servants and his slaves quitted him one after another. Himself disgusted with his residence, quitted Ater-chundy in the Rohil-cund, and repaired to the Rana of Gohud's

dominion(38), from whence he went to the country of the Radjp8ts, and at last he fixed himself in a town between Acbar-abad and the Capital. There in a little time he departed this life in the utmost poverty and distress, leaving to the world a memorable instance of the instability of human things, and fixing an everlasting stain on Shudjah-ed-dowlah, the author of all the miseries he had undergone.

This last Prince had entered into such solemn treaties with the English rulers, as had established the strongest ties of union, with a community of concerns between them and himself; for they had bound themselves to assist each other in case of an attack by an enemy. However, whilst Nedjef-qhan, with the assistance of the Marhattas, was ruining the Rohillah power, he had thought proper to remain a quiet spectator of the operations of the war; but after that General's departure, he conceived that this was the time to act in his turn, and to give the finishing blow to that inimical nation. As a hatred to that name was hereditary in his family, he forgot the friendship and union that had intervened between him and Saad-ollah-qhan, as well as with Ynaiet-qhan, son to Hafyz-rahmet, and he undertook to put an end to the Rohillah domination. Full of these ideas, he applied to Governor Hushtin for his consent to that expedition, and promised a sum of money to the English for their assisting him vigorously. That Governor had no orders from the Company to send troops out of the English dominions or out of those of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's, for the purpose of making conquests; nor had he their consent for undertaking any new conquests, either on the English account, or on account of Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who was now their vassal. The orders from the Council in England were to assist Shudjah-ed-dowlah with all his might, against any one that should attack his dominions, and likewise

Shudjah-ed-dowlah avails himself of what the Rohillahs had suffered from Nedjef-qhan, to put an end to their domination.

(38) He was desired by the Radja to quit his dominions, on hearing that this fugitive had exercised acts of Sovereignty by putting to death some of his dependants, who were detected in an intrigue with his women. Some of these women were whipped, others threw themselves into wells to the number of ten, and his very cousin, Mir-e8pun, now Fateh-aaly-qhan, underwent a flogging, and possibly would have undergone some thing more, had not the Radja rescued the young man from his hands, and ordered him to be set at liberty. He is now in M8r-sh8d-abad, enjoying from the English a pension of fifteen hundred rupees per month.

to call that Prince with all his power to the assistance of the English, should the latter be attacked in their dominions of Bengal and Azim-abad. The policy of that mixture of liberty and restraint consisted in this, that as the Rohillahs were a natural barrier to all these dominions, and their country afforded the only easy passes to them from Hindostan, it was expected that those people of course would be obliged to stand upon their own defence, and would oppose, for their own sakes, any invader that should undertake to attack the dominions of the two Allies. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, however, having pointed out to the Governor several advantages that would accrue to both parties from the success of this expedition, prepared himself for war, with a promise of being supported by the English. Nevertheless, with a view to put an end to his disputes with the Rohillahs, or to demonstrate to the world the natural perverseness of their temper, he sent word to Hafyz-rahmet, the principal ruler amongst them, desiring him to remember "How he had come in "time to the assistance of his nation against the Marhattas, and "how he had rescued it effectually from the destruction intended "them, by paying in their stead from his own treasury a mighty "sum of money, which had saved their country from devasta-"tion and ruin; he added, that all the return made him for his "effectual interposition, was only a variety of tergiversations "and delays on the repayment of a sum due to him, and which "they had not yet thought of providing for. So that matters "standing as they were, the Rohillahs must prepare themselves "for war, or pay, without delay, the sum advanced for their "sakes."

Sends a message to the Rohillah Princes.

This message did not fail to make great impression on Hafyz-rahmet, who was a man of great sense and much foresight. He sent word to Fateh-ollah-qhan, and to the other children of D8ndy-qhan, as well as to Faiz-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah, and even to all the principal men of the Rohillah nation, and informed them that he wished to see them assembled at a certain place, as he had something of importance to impart. When they were assembled, he sent them the following message:—

"Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who has disciplined his troops, and "mounted his artillery, in the Frenghi (European) manner, and

"who, besides, is supported by the English power, intends to "attack you, and to make a conquest of your country, as well "as of mine. My opinion is, that we shall never be able to "stand before people that pour a shower of fire in the ranks of "their enemies. Is it not better, then, to avert so great an evil "by repaying him without delay the money promised, and which, "after all, is nothing but his due? For I inform you that we shall "never be able to resist his attack."

Whilst the Rohillah Princes were assembling, Shudjah-ed-dowlah had sent secret assurances to the sons of D8ndy-qhan, "That he had no business with either their family or their "dominions, which were on the other side of the Ganga; but "that it was only on condition that they would remain quiet, "without interfering by their assistance to others; else, they "might reckon upon their falling in the same fire that would be "kindled to consume the others." But this message made little impression on them; and those senseless men, instead of listening to Hafyz-rahmet's advice, and paying their share of the money he had so long ago stipulated for them, were, on the contrary, averse to any accommodation; and preferring their money to any other consideration, they were exciting the others to a war. And this was the general opinion of the Rohillah Princes, who being in general young, ignorant, and proud of their bodily strength and valour, preferred war to a payment, and even exhorted the others to reject all thoughts of an accommodation, pretexting their inability to pay, and describing the ruinous state of their country. It was in vain that Hafyz-rahmet was preaching, "That they would never be able to stand before the fire of the Frenghees; that it would produce clouds of smoke out of their breasts, and that of their families; and that they would be obliged to run away from the field of battle, and to lose their characters as soldiers." All that produced no conviction. Doubtless it was because the Rohillahs having been guilty of an infinity of cruelties and extortions towards the inhabitants of Hindostan, it was high time that they should, in their turn, experience to the full all the violences which they had hitherto committed upon others. The time appointed by the Omnipotent Avenger was come; nor was it in their power to retard it by a single moment Blinded by their own ignorance

The message remains unattended to.

and prejudices, those senseless men thought only of taking the field and coming to a battle. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, informed of their obstinacy, put himself at the head of his own victorious troops, and with an artillery equally well served and numerous, he marched into their country, accompanied by the English troops, which were commanded by General Barker, and he commenced ravaging all that tract of ground. Hafyz-rahmet, finding that his countrymen were bent on war, exhorted them at least to assemble betimes, and to march to his asistance with all their forces. He applied especially to the sons of D8ndy-qhan, who put him off with fair promises which they did not intend to fulfil. Some came to rendezvous only with a small force, and some sent only promises of arriving in a few days; and by this time Shudjah-ed-dowlah had already advanced in the heart of the country, and was close upon Hafyz-rahmet. This Rohillah Prince finding himself hard pressed, resolved to oppose the enemy with what force he had at hand, whether of his own, or of some Rohillah Princes and Chieftains, that had now joined him, and these did not amount to less than fifty or sixty thousand men. These troops he placed in a well chosen post that had in front a small deep river, with lofty crooked banks covered with brambles, and with a quantity of thorny trees; behind this front he placed his artillery as he could afford, for it was an object of contempt for the enemy. The latter very little intimidated by this order of battle, turned the front of the Rohillah post, and passed that little deep river by the right and left. The combat commenced, on one hand, by Shudjah-ed-dowlah's Talingahs, commanded mostly by eunuchs of merit, and on the other, by the English Talingahs, all old troops, accustomed to face the enemy, being commanded by Captains and Majors, flushed with victories, and all of them Officers of experience, and men of abilities as well as courage. The engagement commenced by the artillery of the English, which these people have the art to serve with so much expertness and expedition, that nothing can prevent its destructive effects, but a particular interposition of Providence and an express miracle, wrought instantly; nor could it be expected that such an undisciplined, disobedient rabble as can be collected in India, would face such a rain of fire, as might be poured by the English. This is as much as could be expected from the troops of

Battle, in which the Rohillahs are totally ruined.

Iran, who accustomed to advance and to retreat only by order of their Commanders, and mercilessly chastised whenever they shewed any delay or backwardness in action, were equal to an attack on such formidable enemies as those strangers. Such exertions could not be expected from the undisciplined Rohillahs, and in fact they were swept in shoals by that dreadful artillery, lost vast numbers of men, were soon thrown into a complete disorder, and fled in crowds towards the fields, but in reality towards the regions of eternity. Hafyz-rahmet, without being dismayed by the slaughter that surrounded him, stood his ground with a firmness and an intrepidity that did him honor. He was followed everywhere by a number of faithful men, all resolved to shed their blood in his company, and he was seen wherever the danger called for his presence, until at last a ball of cannon came, pierced his heroical breast through and through, and parted his soul from his body. Those who on his example stood yet their ground, no sooner saw him fall than they gave themselves up to despondency, and quitting the field of battle they fled on all sides, and joined those that had already preceded them. Shudjah-ed-dowlah seeing that victory had declared for his troops, alighted from his elephant, and spreading a carpet, he inclined himself profoundly before the Lord of victories, to whom he made a short prayer in thanksgiving for so signal a success. He was yet prostrated, when the head of Hafyz-rahmet was brought to him, and the indentity of it having been ascertained, he prostrated himself a second time; but one of his Generals, who had known Hafyz-rahmet, producing a handkerchief to wipe the earth and dirt from its face, he was stopped short by these words: "*Let it remain as it is,*" interrupted Shudjah-ed-dowlah. "*That "dirt and mire on that face are so much ornament to my own. "I return thanks to God Almighty, that I have to-day taken a "full revenge for the perpetual insolencies and endless cruelties "which this bloody barbarous race has been continually offer- "ing to my father, to my family, and to an infinity of faithful "believers.*" Whilst he was speaking, Zabeta-qhan, who had still a body of a thousand men, was close to him. But this severing of Hafyz-rahmet's head which had been ordered by Providence in punishment of the numberless injuries offered by that undisciplined nation to the people of God, seemed to be the

Bravery of Hafyz-rahmet their General, who is slain.

signal for their losing courage totally, and for dispersing heedlessly. A panic seized the whole race, and spreading itself through all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, it worked upon their constitution as a vertiginous giddiness, which prevented their entertaining any thoughts of ever joining together, or of assembling again to any effect. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, after this signal victory, being become the master of the country, spread his victorious troops far and near, with orders to put to the sword every Rohillah that should appear in arms, or did not submit, and meanwhile he turned his thoughts towards quieting the country, bringing it under order and controul, and annexing it to his own dominions. The rest of the Rohillah nation, struck with terror and dismay, submitted, and all their Chiefs reluctantly sent their obeisance. These were Fateh-ollah-qhan, with the rest of D8ndy-qhan's family, Muhabbet-qhan, with his brothers, sons of Hafyz-rahmet, and Fāiz-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, the founder of that principality, of whom we have so often sopken in the first volume. All those Princes who had retired with a confused multitude within the mountains of Camā8, unable to bear the water and air of that climate, and overcome by the difficulties of their situation, repaired to Shudjah-ed-dowlah's camp, with their principal officers, and acknowledged his sovereignty. But Fāiz-ollah-qhan, finding himself followed by the sons of D8ndi-qhan, and Hafyz-rahmet, Princes that had long served under Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah, his father, to whom they owed their fortunes, he conceived hopes of being better attended by the fugitives of his nation, and he retired to the foot of the mountains, with a design to live by making courses, and ravaging the enemy's country. Luckily for him that he was brought to his senses by the English Commanders, who interposed their mediation, and presented him to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, with whom they had stipulated some conditions in his behalf; for they obtained for him a certain tract of Rohillah ground at the very extremeties of that country, which stretched at the foot of the mountains, and yielded a revenue of about ten or fifteen lacs. Thither he retired with the remains of his demolished nation, and there he applied himself to the improvement of the country, and there he now lives with dignity and splendour. The rest of the Rohillah Princes, so far from being so much favourised by fortun e, were left unnoticed,

Shudjah-ed-dowlah takes possession of the Rohillah country.

Fate of the Rohillah Princes.

and even without a subsistence; and some who were suspected of knowing of concealed hoards and treasures, suffered every hardship in a long confinement. I, the poor man, have seen at Lucknow most of the sons of Hafyz-rahmet and D8ndy-qhan, and it is from their own mouths I have learned their own history. It was a little after Shudjah-ed-dowlah's death, and at the beginning of the reign of his son, Assef-ed-dowlah, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a little time. It was at Lucknow that I became fully acquainted with them all, and also with a number of the principal persons that had a share in that expedition. But the most illustrious and valuable amongst these Rohillah Princes was undoubtedly Muhabbet-qhan, younger brother to Ynaïet-qhan, which latter had once endeared himself to Shudjah-ed-dowlah by being his companion of arms in his expedition against Azim-abad. This young Prince seemed by his figure as well as by his character, to be worthy of dominions, or at least to deserve a better fortune; but times were too hard and insensible, or at least too blind to pay a due attention to so much merit, and he was suffered to linger upon a small pension, quite inadequate to his rank in life(39), and that too at the very time when Fäiz-ollah-qhan was complimented with a country that cannot yield less than twenty lacs of rupees—he whose paternal possessions in the life-time of the Rohillah power never did afford above five lacs a year. A strange perverseness this and a strange infatuation of the times indeed! which, blind to real merit, and blundering upon incapacity and meanness of character, seem intent only on affording regrets and surprise to the sensible observer!—Verses:

"Fortune, that known flatterer of the vile, has but one eye,
"And that, too, is at the top of her head;
"So that whenever she has catched a Jack-ass by the tail,
"She cannot distinguish it is a Jack-ass's tail,
"But after having raised it so high as to be at the top of her head.
"When, finding her mistake, she drops the tail at once.
"And down falls the beast from high, to break its neck by the fall,
"This done, the Cyclope stretches her hand for another.

Be it as it will, it is certain that this treaty and junction of Governor Hushtin's with Shudiah-ed-dowlah met with a very bad

(39) A thousand or twelve hundred rupees per month.

The treaty of the English with Shudjah-ed-dowlah highly disapproved in Europe.

reception at home, and that the Members of the Council of London, which is the Capital of the English Empire, finding fault with every part of the whole expedition, repeatedly reprimanded him with great asperity, for his having permitted Shudjah-ed-dowlah to wage war with the Rohillahs, and, moreover, for his having lent him the assistance of the English troops. But the Governor, having vindicated his conduct with equal solidity and eloquence, became a great favourite with the people at home, and from that time his favour went on increasing daily, and it put it in his power to regulate to his mind the Company's affairs at Bengal, as well as to attend to the changes that were taking place at the Capital of Hindostan.

For whilst Shudjah-ed-dowlah was making conquests, Mirza-nedjef-qhan, who had once been in his service, having lately shaken off his inferiority and submission, had risen by dint of merit and achievements to an equality with his old master; and the latter who had hitherto been brooding upon discontents, conceived long ago, now thought it expedient to take a different style with him, to forget his discontent, to commence his friend, and to talk of nothing but completing a perfect union between themselves. He even betrothed one of his daughters to that rising conqueror, and did everything in his power to gain his affection. But Nedjef-qhan, although now at the head of so much power, thought it incumbent upon his generosity to continue his former submissive style to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and to abstain from availing himself of the equality to which fortune had raised him on the theatre of the world. He continued to write in a respectful style to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, as to his superior, even in an affair which required to be handled with great firmness as well as much delicacy; for the Rohillah power, having been for some time before in the agonies of death, most of the countries that had belonged to Nedjib-ed-dowlah, and, by succession, to Zabeta-qhan, his son, had been conquered by Nedjef-qhan with the assistance of the Marhattas, some time before Shudjah-ed-dowlah's expedition, or they had surrendered to his arms. Some of these Districts were on this side of the Ganga, and touched(40) towards

Alliance between Shudjah-ed-dowlah and Nedjef-qhan.

(40) The Author wrote at Lucknow and at Benares on the other side of the Ganga; so that without knowing this circumstance his account of this partition-treaty becomes unintelligible, unless, indeed, there should be errors in the manuscript;

the north to the dominions of Hafyz-rahmet and D8ndy-qhan, which were the territories of Chandp8r, Nediah, Patter-ghur, and some others; whereas the greatest part of Zabeta-qhan's country extended mostly to the west and south of the Ganga, and such were the Districts of Barr, Soharenp8r-b8dia, and the rest. On the other hand, all the countries that had belonged to Hafyz-rahmet, and the children of Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah, as well as to D8ndy-qhan's posterity, had been taken possession of by Shudjah-ed-dowlah, that is, all that part to the north and east of the Ganga, which was contiguous to the Province of A8d; such as the Districts of Shah-djehan-p8r, Bereily, Aaowla, Bedäon, Bissöulah, and some others. The other Districts on the eastern side of the Ganga, such as those of Sumbul, M8rad-abad, Amr8a, &c., together with all the country between the two rivers of Ganga and Djumnah, had been conquered by Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, from Mahmed-qhan-Bangash, and bestowed upon the Marhattas. But this nation having since their bloody defeat at Pany-p8t evacuated so effectually all Hindostan, that there was not one individual Marhatta to be found in any part of it, the conquered countries, bestowed upon that nation by Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, together with some others in the Anterbid tract, were divided amongst themselves, by Hafyz-rahmet, Ahmed-bangash, and the families of Doondy-qhan and Nedjib-qhan, who received thereon the Abdaly-king's orders. Part of Zabeta-qhan's spoils then being on the Lucknow side, and part on the Delhi side of the Ganga, Nedjef-qhan, who felt how much such a situation was liable to misunderstandings, set out for Shudjah-ed-dowlah's Court, with intention to come to an agreement with that Prince about a final division of those territories. Being arrived at that Court, he examined with him the net revenues of those districts that had heretofore constituted Nedjeb-ed-dowlah's dominions, and it was agreed between them, that whatever was on this side of the Ganga, that is, on the eastern and northern side of it, as Patter-ghur, Chand poor, Nedjinah, and some other districts, should be annexed to the Province of A8d, and that such parts as were on the other western side, with part of D8ndy-qhan's

Followed by a treaty of partition between them.

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and even with this circumstance, it does not seem to tally with the geographical charts now under our eyes, and it has been thought proper therefore to deviate a little from the text, so as to listen rather to the information tendered by the chart.

and Hafyz-rahmet's countries, should be annexed to the Provinces of Acbar-abad and Delhi, to which they were contiguous. This partition having given satisfaction to both parties, and the limits having been agreed to and ascertained, the Agreement was explained in a written instrument, which received the usual forms; after which Nedjef-qhan departed to his own country, carrying with him the Prince Zabeta-qhan, whom he had requested from Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and to whom he shewed every demonstration of favour and regard, loading him with presents and distinctions at every opportunity that offered. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, after this departure, turned his thoughts entirely towards bringing to order and submission the Rohillah country, and towards incorporating his conquests with his hereditary dominions. But Providence, who had been preparing the causes of his dissolution from afar, had appointed the time, and it was not to be foregone by a moment. A disorder of the venereal kind made its appearance between his belly and his thigh—it was of the species called by the vulgar a Qhyarec, (small cucumber). In a little time it broke open, and commenced suppurating abundantly. As such an eruption had never been known to be of so serious a nature as to endanger a man's life, he made no great account of it, especially as the known and usual remedies were from time to time applied by some Indian or Armenian Chirurgeons, and especially by some European ones, who were this long time in his service and enjoyed his confidence. Nevertheless the wound increased, and as it seemed to baffle all the powers of physic, a suspicion arose amongst his friends and courtiers about the nature of a wound that yielded to no remedy. And it was then that a strange and universal report prevailed, that having cast his eyes upon Hafyz-rahmet's daughter, actually in his seraglio, the young lady, who had about herself a full measure of that ferocity and sense of honour so remarkable in women of the Rohillah race(41), submitted to his embraces, but

Shudjah-ed-dowlah prepares to enjoy his conquests.

(41) Whether the women of the Rohillah race have really that ferocity in their nature, which the Author means, is what we know not, but we are certain that they bear the fairest character for chastity and fidelity amongst the Mussulman women of Hindostan, and are likewise the handsomest, being tall and slender-waisted and with a long oval face and small delicate feet and hands. As to Shudjah-ed-dowlah's wound, although we have seen an English chirurgeon who had seen it, and affirmed it to be a bubo, and the Author, doubtless out of regard to his friend,

at the moment he was closing with her person(42), she drew a small clasp-knife, which had been dipped in poison by her mother, and thrust it, with all her might, into his groin; from which circumstance people accounted for the rebellious nature of the wound. But this report was certainly without foundation, and is unquestionably erroneous; notwithstanding which it ran then and still continues to run so strong, that there are numbers of people who will admit of no other cause for his death, and who reject the other as fictitious, and as an invention to serve a turn. Be it as it will, Shudjah-ed-dowlah himself, astonished at the state of his health, resolved to return to what he called his home, by which he ment the Palace which he had finished at Fäiz-abad, but which had been commenced and founded, as well as that city itself, by his maternal grandfather, Saadet-qhan. He mounted

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Muhabbet-qhan, eldest son to Hafyz-rahmet, seems strongly to discard the story of the Rohillah Princess, yet is he obliged to yield to the notoriety and prevalence of the report, which ran so generally at that very time, that the very detail of all that affair is come to be known. "Daughter," said the mother, as she was going away, "remember that thou art daughter to a Hafyz-rahmet, and the designed bride of "a Rohillah Prince. Thou wert not born to be any man's concubine, still less of "that man, who has killed thy father, and entailed slavery and prostitution upon "our family, which he has reduced to beggary. Go; but perish a thousand times, "rather than suffer any defilement. If thou art a true Rohillah girl, that man will "not prevail upon thee." The girl was seventeen, tall and vigorous, as are the Rohillah women, as well as beautiful and elegantly made. She had concealed the clasp-knife in the tresses of her hair, and taking her time, she struck Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who got up and retired, but who with a sign of his hand ordered her to be dispatched, and three Eunuchs plunged their poniards in her body. Such is the detail of that affair, and it is certain that such a story has always been reputed the genuine one. It is certain also that the girl did disappear, and that two thousand women that were dismissed subsequently from Shudjah-ed-dowlah's zenanah, never varied a point in their narrative. We know a man who has one of these women at home, and she is one of the four hundred that had been bedded twice in seven years by Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and of course a favourite. This woman constantly repeats the same story; is a person of great sense as well as much beauty; was acquainted with the daughter; remained two years since in the Palace, and never could see her since that day; and she even was severely reprimanded for inquiring after her. In short, this story was put into verses by the ladies of the seraglio. Those verses went abroad, have been sung by public dancers and are known to her. It must be added to this that a wound, which has degenerated into a cancer, cannot be ascertained for a buboe by any chirurgeon upon earth, especially after its remaining open for full four months, and its being operated upon all that while.

(42) In the original, it is, "As he was going to open, or disclose, her woman-"hood"

a Naleky(43), and set out for that desired spot, leaving his second son, Mirza-saadet-aaly, as his Deputy in the new conquered countries, and recommending that young Prince to the care of Sidy-beshir, the Habeshinian, a slave of his grandfather's, and who being very much trusted both by the father and son, had risen to be one of the principal personages of the Court. He placed him near his son, as a tutor and a guardian, and departed for Fäiz-abad.

Arrived at that Capital, he expected a benefit even from the change of air, but his wound becoming worse and worse, and having by this time considerably affected his health, it was discovered that it had degenerated into a malignant cancer. He now called to his assistance some English chirurgeons, whom he joined to his ancient and trusty ones, and these spared no care or attention, but all to no purpose. Matters now wore a gloomy aspect. For although, according to the Scriptural sentence, that "The moment of death is not to be advanced or retarded by a "single instant, and delay is undoubtedly beyond the reach of "human power," nevertheless, as the Divine goodness, instead of bringing forth the events of this world by abrupt transitions, hath vouchsafed to make them grow out of one another, by a concatenation of second causes, some of which remain concealed, while others become open to view; these last are often attended to and observed by men of sense, who discover, even in the plainest of them, tokens of an attentive wisdom. And this rule is applicable to Shudjah-ed-dowlah's dying when young, and to his departing this world with a heart torn by the regret of being deprived of the enjoyment of it, at a time when he had raised his power to a high pitch, had provided every object of enjoyment, and had resolved henceforward to live in a laudable beneficent manner. But I humbly conceive to have discovered the cause. It was too late to remedy all the evils he had caused. It is true that he had many laudable qualifications, and that he lived in a very high style, on purpose to afford subsistence to a greater number of persons; but it is no less true that he used to spoil all

Remarks on the singular dispensations of Providence.

(43) A Naleky is a Paleky, either open or covered, but it leans upon two bamboos, like a Sedan in Europe, with this difference only, that the poles are carried by four or eight men, and upon the shoulders, whereas those of a Paleky hang from the shoulders.

the merits of that conduct by two or three ugly customs or proceedings of his, that would render all merit detestable, and doubtless it was in punishment of such excesses that the Divine Avenger, from whose minute recording there is no concealing anything, thought it high time to drive him from this world, at a period of life when he was still young, and wished to enjoy the vigor of his body and the fullness of his power. He stripped him of the sweets of dominion and life, and obliged him to take to the road of eternity, whilst he was all the while lamenting his fate, and parting with this world with the most heart-felt regret. The first of these ugly actions of his was his faithlessness and perfidy to Mir-cassim-qhan, who although far from being himself a blameless man, certainly had not deserved from Shudjah-ed-dowlah the unworthy treatment he received at his hands. After having made every promise to that fugitive, and having confirmed those promises by writing them with his own hand on a blank leaf of the glorious Word of God; after having recommended the faith of the treaty to God Almighty himself, to the Prince of the Envoys(44), to the Proto-martyr and Prince of the Justs, and to His Highness Saint Abbas, son to Aaly, and grandson to Ab8-taaleb, (upon all whom may peace and grace rest for ever!); after having promised a perfect safety to that fugitive man in his person, honour, and fortune, and having received in immense presents and a variety of services, a full return for the asylum he had afforded him; to change at once so far as to entice his ungrateful servants and soldiers to a revolt, and then to confine his person, together with his consort and children, and after that to confiscate his whole remaining property, without exception, so as to reduce a potent Prince, once a bestower of lacs and treasures, to want the very necessaries of life, and to live on a footing with a wretched beggar, is such a series of shocking and dishonourable actions as no pen could describe without pain and horror. The second of his censurable proceedings, was his merciless disregard of the circumstances of more than two hundred thousand persons in his dominions(45), who all enjoyed either pensions

His character highly reprehensible.

(44) Mahmmed is the Prince and Seal of the Envoys—and Aaly, his cousin and son-in law, is the Proto-martyr.

(45) Our author, who might require continual paraphrase, or even a whole commentary, does not specify whether those more than two lacs of men were in his ancient dominions, or in his new conquered ones, of the Rohilcund. Surely

or salaries, or whole villages or lands on which they subsisted. All these were, with one stroke of his pen, swept away, and confiscated, and immense multitudes of men were left deprived of their accustomed subsistence, most of them being of a sex or of an age that rendered them incapable of providing for themselves. Insomuch that vast numbers of them, ashamed to beg, and wanting the very staff of life, rather than shew their faces in public, and undergo thereby a defilement, shut up their doors, and silently perished in want and misery. Vast numbers of others, overcome by the pangs of hunger, quitted their paternal homes, and turning beggars, lingered out a wretched existence, embittered by endless woe and boundless regret. It is possible that about ten or twenty of those holders of charity-lands(46) may have been arrant hypocrites, and such as were addicted to practices that might excite suspicion, and even fully deserve chastisement. Such people undoubtedly ought to have been ascertained, dragged out of the crowd, and punished according to their deserts, although he himself, after all, seemed inclined to overlook such misdemeanours in others; but he might have remembered that he had succeeded to those Princes and Sovereigns of India, who in humble imitation of the Almighty goodness which bestows its rain and its sun upon the worthy and good, as well as upon the unworthy and wicked, had never thought of depriving any living soul of the subsistence they found it accustomed to enjoy.

He confiscates all the charity-lands.

"Beware! for God Almighty, who is above and behind,
"Never has shut up the door of subsistence, even to the sinner."

his ancient dominions could not have afforded a constant revenue to these two hundred thousand pensioners, as well as a constant adequate revenue to the Prince of the country. The author then must have had in view the aggregate of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's dominions, both old and recent, and in the recent ones, the English, of whom so much evil has been, and is still said, and whose amazing prosperity is not of a nature to be forgiven by envy and jealousy, have been instrumental in securing a subsistence to an infinity of Rohillah families; and as to their own dominions in Bengal and Bahar, where they have indeed resumed an infinity of grants and lands, equity requires an acknowledgment, that they have conserved and likewise confirmed, an infinity of others, one-half of which afforded a full handle for chicane, and resumption.

(46) The reader, who has read in Montesquieu and in others, that there are despotic Governments, and that in India the subjects have no land in property, must be informed not only, that there are no despotic Empires in fact, but that in India, over and above innumerable lands held in fee simple, there are innumerable others, to the value of several millions sterling a year, that are always set apart for charitable uses.

The third ugly part of his conduct was his continual disregard to the honor of his servants and subjects(47), and his inattention and carelessness about the rights of possession and property. Whenever he wanted to enlarge a palace, or to raise some new building, he made little account of pulling down the houses and habitations of his servants, or his subjects; insomuch that numbers of people, not only lost their grounds and materials, but their very furniture and movables, the whole of which never failed to be reputed fair booty by those shoals of pioneers who crowded upon them at once without warning, and reduced them in a twinkle to distress and beggary(48).

His heinous disregard to the honor and property of the subjects.

(47) It was not an uncommon thing for a mother, who had a pretty daughter, to see her dwelling entered at once by a couple of eunuchs and half a dozen of constables, or cutval-men, who seized on the daughter, put her in a covered dooly or chair, and carried her to the Palace, from whence she never returned. It is true that a pension always followed, but then the daughter, the comfort of one family and the hope of two, was gone for ever.

(48) To give a glimpse of those times by those that have succeeded, it may not be improper to compliment the European reader with the following story: A family of eighteen persons, all Hindoos, lived at Lucknow in a small house of twenty feet square, that had in the middle a small yard, no bigger than a dining table, but still planted with one shrub of Toolsy or Balm, a shrub held in great veneration by the Gentoos. The house was two stories high. On the father's death, the younger son ejected his elder, but abandoned the house himself for some time, as it seemed to be haunted by the old man. The elder brother preferred two suppliques to Assef-ed-dŏwlah, who promised to send people on the spot *to take a local knowledge of the matter*. And, indeed, he sent two thousand pioneers, who in one single night carried away every brick of the tenement, and levelled the ground so effectually, that it could not be distinguished from some other contiguous parts where that Prince was actually enlarging his Palace The man came next morning as he had been bid, and was informed that he must be an impostor or a mad man, as there was *no house on the spot he had designed*. The man was thunderstruck! Proper people being sent with him to inquire of the neighbours, the latter unanimously answered that they knew nothing about that matter, and the man thinking himself in an enchanted world, became melancholy, and then lost his wits fell in demence, and then turned Fakir. In 1781, we saw him at Lucknow. "Brother," said we, "you have "been inquiring for your house this longwhile; have you discovered any traces of "it at last?" "And how should I, brother Moghul," answered the man with the most jocular air and tone of voice: "I knew a great many things of my house, but "never suspected it had wings, and would elope into the moon."

The reader will forgive us a second story, as it is connected with the subject, and gives an insight into Shudjah-ed-dowlah's prematurity of character, as well as a proper notion into what the Europeans are pleased to style the despotism of Asia. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, when very young, was smitten with the charms of a young Hindoo Lady, whom he chanced to see at one of the bathing places. The young man

Nor did any one, but God himself, listen to the screams and groans of those ejected, forlorn families. But the day of account and retribution was now come. He was informed that he had but few hours to live; so that sending for his mother, consort, and

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finding that neither prayers nor promises could answer any purpose, resolved to enjoy the object of his desires by main force. He planted a ladder at one of the Lady's windows, (the houses at Benares are mostly of stone, and three or four stories high), and got into what he thought the fair one's apartment, but where he was shut up by her relations, who ran to the Cutval, or officer of the Police. The latter thought the matter of importance enough to be reported to the young Prince's father. He ordered him to be awakened at midnight. "*Had you been equal to your office,* broke forth, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, darting, at the same time, a formidable look at the man, *you would not have awakened me at midnight to ask me what is to be done with rascals that are escalading a citizen's house.* The Cutval, who was a shrewd man, (and no others are put in that office) having now his cue, ran back to the escaladed house, and having seized the young man, he used him very ill. *You forget,* said the latter, sternly, *who I am, or at least pretended to do so—but I inform you that I am Mirza-djélaheddin-haider.—You! you! Give that rascal,* exclaimed the Cutval, *give that rascal two boxes on the ear, to teach him the consequences of assuming such illustrious names.—Well done!—Now give him two kicks in the belly to teach him manners.—Excellent my lads—two more for my sake.—Well that is right now. Dost thou believe, thou rascal, that our young Prince has been so wretchedly bred, as to quit the paternal house at midnight, to escalade people's houses in order to rob them of their wives?* Whilst the Cutval was speaking, the constables were engaged with the culprit, who being a stout young man, full six feet high, defended himself vigorously. But he was at last overpowered, thrown down, and woefully served with cudgels and sticks; and his business was so handsomely done, that being now unable to walk, he was dragged to prison, sometimes by the hand and sometimes by the foot. Being arrived there, a few hours after, the other culprits, who had their cue, quarrelled with him, and falling all together upon him, they left him for dead. All this while he had received no victuals; the others used to receive theirs at stated hours. He fell to prayers, was refused; attempted to snatch some morsel, was banged again; he fell to intreaties, quarrelled a third time, and a third time was banged. The Mirza, very much humbled by such a strange series of disastrous events, sent a message to his father, requesting his forgiveness, and his remembering that he had a son. *A son,* said the Viceroy! *I have none. He is dead three days ago. Had I any. I dare say, that the young man, instead of escalading the house of a citizen, would have thought it his duty to protect his property with his own person, still more so his honour. I am paid for that purpose myself, and it is on that account they pay me taxes and duties.* The Mirza, repulsed here, applied to his mother.—*Me, his mother,* answered the Princess, with horror and indignation! *Had I a son, that son would not attempt to rob a citizen of his honour. Let the son of a whore look out for his mother in some one of the caravansaries, as well as for his father! There she must be, I am sure.* In one word, the Mirza remained full seven days in that loathsome place, and was literally famished. At the end of that term, he presented himself before his father, who was then playing at chess. The

relations, he pronounced his profession of faith(49), and asked their pardon, and on a Thursday, being the twenty-second of Zilcaad, in the year 1188 of the Hedjra, he expired, departing from the caravansary of this fragile world, for the regions of eternity.

One would hardly believe that, with such a strange character, he should have been an object of regret; and yet it is beyond doubt that he has been regretted to an incredible degree. Several persons of importance and credit have affirmed that the report of his death filled the whole city of Faiz-abad with sorrow and grief. Muhabbet-qhan (eldest son to Hafyz-rahmet), who certainly could not be partial to him, and to whose merit it is difficult to render sufficient justice, has more than once told me, that although his family had been ruined by Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and himself reduced to the condition in which I then saw him, nevertheless, on seeing his corpse pass by, he could not contain himself, but shed a flood of tears. He added that he cannot compare the general impression of sorrow felt that day by every one, to any thing but to what is sometimes observed in the last days of the ten first ones of the Muharrem(50), when it is not

young man looked like a ghost, with dirty clothes, and a famished countenance, and he was mixed in a crowd of other suitors at about a hundred yards from the window of the audience-hall. The Viceroy, just casting a look at him, said: *So, sir, it is you!* and continued his game. Six months elapsed before he would speak another word to him, and the culprit was all this time making his bow twice a week at a hundred yards distance, like some one of the lowest rank. The mother would not see him all that while. But at last she interposed, and she was supported by the whole Court. The Viceroy made him shift his clothes, (he had not shifted all that while, and such is the etiquette of India for prisoners) and bid him sit down, but did not add another word, and the reconciliation took up a whole year.

(49) Luckily for the Mahometans this profession of faith has none of those very long and very alambicated metaphysical phrases that distinguish the thirty-nine articles of the English, and nothing of those still longer and infinitely more amazing and metaphysical tenets of the Romanistes. It is quite plain and short. Here it is: *I believe that there is no God, but God, and also that Mohammed is His Messenger.* Here it is again with the Canonical, but less usual, amplification: *I believe in God, in His Angels, His Prophets, His Books, and in the Resurrection, and also that evil and good come from God.*

(50) The processions that are seen in the first days of Muharrem, being all armed, and marching with drums beating, and colours flying, represent the troops that flocked to Hussein. The fifth, sixth, and seventh night is spent in recounting the manner of his death, and the mortal thirst he suffered. This narrative is drawn up in such pathetic terms, and pronounced in so melting a strain, and it is attened

possible to observe in a numerous assembly one single face that is not unaffected with grief. He protested that the whole city of Faiz-abad was in that predicament, no face being to be met with but was bathed in tears; insomuch that he doubted much whether a single person could be found that day, that had not wept abundantly. It was then remembered that, about a year before his death, a tumour had arisen at his back or about his shoulders, and as both his father and maternal grandfather had died of such a distemper, it was feared lest the tumour at the back might turn out to be of a cancerous nature; and he vowed to send five lacs of rupees to the holy places; a vow which he performed to the full(51), after having fully recovered his health. But as he was himself predestined to die of that distemper, hereditary in his family, he at last perished himself by a cancer. His body having been washed, purified, and wrapped up in a winding-sheet, according to the rites customary in Hindostan, it was taken up by Mirza-aaly-qhan and Salar-djung, brothers to his consort, who, together with the principal Grandees of the Court, and Officers of the army, and the most eminent men of the city, carried it by turns upon their shoulders, all the while preceded and followed by an immense retinue of his horses,

with so theatrical an action, that it has always drawn tears from even ourselves, who look upon that whole quarrel about the Qhalifat to be a political, and not a religious matter. And we have seen a young woman at Lucknow, who on seeing the simulachre of Hossein's coffin pass by, followed by crowds in tears, screamed out, *O much injured Imam Hossein, I have nothing to give you, but my life!—Take it— I will die with you!* And straight she threw herself from a second story, and was dashed to pieces. Nor are examples wanting of men being worked up to a pitch of madness, by those pathetic narratives, and those theatrical representations. A Persian, called Abbass, a shop-keeper of Lucknow, and a fanatical Shyah, having been prevailed upon by Aaly-beg-qhan, a General of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's, to personate Yezid during the last days of the Muharrem, for the consideration of two thousand rupees, was dressed like an Arabian Monarch; and with a very large turbant upon his head, he was placed in a conspicuous part of the theatre. But the assembly having been worked into a frenzy by the pathetic narrative, some men in a fury got up, and struck the Yezid, their own acquaintance; and this having as by a signal set on fire the whole assembly, all those Persians, every one of whom knew personally the poor man, fell upon him, and hacked him to pieces with their sabres, whilst the poor shop-keeper was screaming out: *But I am not Yesid; you are mad—I am Abbass, as good a Shyah as any of you—I am Abbass—No Yesid—Abbass, Abbass—Shyah, Shyah, Abbass, Abb—*

(51) The holy places, with the Sunnies, are Mecca and Medina; with the Shyahs it is still the same places, but with the addition of Nedjef, Kerbelah, and Meshehed.

elephants, and his whole household, and by crowds of people that had been attached to his person. Whilst the convoy was yet on its march towards G8lab-bagh(52), where the body was to be entombed, his virtuous son, Mirza-amany, that man whom people are pleased to call Assef-ed-döwlah(53). anxious to sit upon the paternal throne, and fearful lest so many Grandees and officers, who were as fully apprised of his incapacity and unworthiness as he was sensible of it himself, should pretend to choose a successor to his father from his other children—Mirza-amani, I say—without any respect to decency, and without any regard to the plainest dictates of common sense in so awful a ceremony, sent trusty persons through the middle of the procession, with orders to bring his two uncles back by all means, and even by force. The two brothers excused themselves upon the impropriety of quitting the procession before its arrival at G8lab-bagh, and on the offence which such a conduct would give to the Mussulman people in general. But meanwhile other messengers coming up with precise orders to bring them by force, the two Lords pronounced a short apology and went away. Some others, who had not been sent for, but who guessed at the sentiments of the deceased's successor, went back of themselves, to secure by such a conduct some part of his good will and favour. Assef-ed-döwlah, after a short consultation with them, sent for Colonel Cleiss, and another Englishman of consideration, who had been in great esteem with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, and he told them, "that a delay would be improper; that "the decrees of Providence had been fulfilled. and that they "had nothing else to do but to place him upon the throne of his "father." The two Commanders thought so much precipitation improper, and excused themselves upon their waiting for orders. The other insisted, intreated, and spoke much upon that subject; and at last he promised a great sum of money, should they comply with his request immediately. The two Commanders, having talked sometime amongst themselves, agreed at last that this man was the deceased's eldest son, born of a woman of equal rank to his own, and to whom of course the succession belonged by the rules of hereditary right. "After all," added

Is installed in the throne by two English Officers.

(52) Garden of Roses, a pleasing seat at four miles from the Palace.

(53) This word signifies the Assef, or The Wise Minister of the Empire.

they, "what harm will that do to us? On the contrary it will do "us good." They immediately sent for a turbant, rolled it upon his head, and calling for the principal men, actually attending the procession, they commanded them to offer their nuzurs, and to make their bows of acknowldgment. The military music had likewise orders to strike up. The sound of this being heard by the other part of the retinue, which actually attended the procession, gave that multitude at once, as well as every one of the men of distinction that still remained, an insight into the successor's turn of mind. Quitting therefore the convoy, they returned to the Palace. As soon as they were arrived, and the Court appeared numerous and frequent, this virtuous son, who doubtless had been this longwhile panting for such days as these, took his seat upon the Mesned of Sovereignty, and received the homages of the whole assembly; and all this was done with so indecent a precipitation, that the music at the Palace was playing in token of rejoicing, whilst the people of no note and character that had remained with the body, were performing the funeral rites over it, and the rejoicings were heard sounding whilst it was actually committing to the earth. The new Prince now being universally acknowledged, brought forwards his ancient steward and friend, appointed him his Deputy all over his dominions, raised him to the grade of seven thousand horse, gave him a military music and the insignia of the Mahi, or fish, and decorated him with the title of Moqhtar-ed-döwlah, or "The "Omnipotent of the State." This was no other than Mir-M8rteza-qhan, brother to Mir-M8rtézévi-qhan. But Iredj-qhan and Sidy-beshir, with some other friends and councilors of Shudjah-ed-döwlah's, observing how the wind blew, thought proper to provide for their own safety. Iredj-qhan, under pretence of obtaining the patents of confirmation from the Emperor, and of strengthening the treaty of amity and union that had been concluded with Nedjef-qhan, obtained leave to repair to Shah-djehan-abad, and thought himself very lucky to escape from the new Prince's grasp. In a few days more, the latter, under pretence that he could not agree with his mother and grandmother, quitted the city of Fäiz-abad, and with his whole Court and army he marched to Lucknow. After coming out of the city, he sent his mother a message requesting his father's

treasures. For Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah, who on his making peace with the English in their camp, had been so zealously assisted by his consort, had from that time conceived so high an opinion of her fidelity, that he used to entrust to her custody every saving he could bring up. Some four messages passed at that time between the son and the mother. At last the latter consented to pay a sum of fifty lacs of rupees, in lieu of all the treasures entrusted to her custody by the deceased Prince, and the son in appearance satisfied, gave her under his hand a general release, as having received the whŏle amount of his father's estate.

As soon as he had received the money, he made no more any scruple of exposing shamelessly all the ugliness of his whole character, He was a slave to effeminate affections, and had long ago selected and applied to his use a certain number of the most brawny Talingas or Sipahees, who served him according to his inclinations, and followed him everywhere by day as well as by night, as if they had been his shade. All these were now brought forward upon the stage of the world, complimented with sounding titles and large pensions, raised to grades of honor and to the command of whole Brigades, decorated with rich presents and fringed Palekies, and introduced to Court as men of character, and importance. Amongst this species of men was a Paleky-carrier, or chair-man, of his own, who had particularly hitted his fancy. He was now brought forward likewise, and distinguished by the title of Radja-mahera, or Prince chair-man. Another received the Government of Besvara, and he there drummed himself as well as his master all over the country. In short, it was observed that all his favourites and all those that approached him, were taken from amongst the vilest of mankind. It is with such a Court that he proceeded to Lucknow, where having tarried sometime, he advanced to Atava, which is Anterbid, and the last place of his dominions towards the west, and where he remained encamped a longwhile. At this place he sent for his brother, Mirza-saadet-aaly and for Sidy-beshir, who both obeyed the summons. The latter was lulled asleep by every demonstration of regard and favour, until the new Prince's emissaries had gained over to his side all the troops that were under the man's command. These being secured, a secret order was given to some officers to arrest Sidy-beshir and to bring him to the

An attempt to seize Sidy-beshir.

Heroical behaviour of Mir-bahadyr-aaly.

presence. The latter had received intelligence of the order, and was astonished at his being aimed at; but whilst he was deliberating with himself, the troops sent for him were descried from afar. He had with him at that moment one Mir-bahadyr-aaly, a Sëyd of Barr, who was these many years attached to him, and owed to his favour his fortune and his very existence. This man turning to Sidy-beshir bid him get upon his own horse, and fly immediately. *"So long as I am alive,"* said he, *"I will keep "them busy after me. Meanwhile be mounted, and without "loss of time, fly for your life to the ferry boat on the Djum- "nah, which is but at a small distance. Cross over at once, "and then you shall be in Nedjef-qhan's country, and of course "in a place of safety. And you,* added he, speaking to some "friends then present, *you owe as well as myself your very for- "tune to this man. See him safe on the other side of the water, "and approve yourselves worthy of the favours you have "received. Get away. I shall keep these people at bay for full "half an hour."* Sidy-beshir mounted and fled; meanwhile Mir-bahadyr-aaly advanced out of the wall of the tent, and engaged the enemies, sabre in hand. He fought with so much resolution and bodily vigour, that for a full half hour no one could approach the door to get in and seize on Sidy-beshir. At last, after having performed feats of prowess that did him an infinite honor, he was overborne by numbers, covered with wounds, and stretched on the ground. But meanwhile Beshir had already reached the Djumnah on a full gallop, and finding boats at hand, he got in one of them, and arrived safe in Nedjef-qhan's country. Whilst he was crossing over to the other side, Bahadyr-aaly, who had cheerfully drank up the cup of martyrdom, was crossing over with a luminous face to the regions of eternity, where he was immediately admitted to the enjoyment of the parterres of Paradise. The soldiers straddling over that hero's body, got within the tent, and searched for Beshir, but Beshir was not to be found; they found every thing, save the ram of the black flock. After this glorious expedition, Assef-ed-döwlah took from his younger brother the administration of the Rohilcund, a country assigned to that young Prince as his share of the paternal estate, and he bestowed it on S8ret-sing, a Hindoo, who had been appointed Divan of the revenue of that tract, by

Who gets himself hacked to pieces in order to save his benefactor.

Shudjah-ed-dowlah himself. In all these transactions M8qhtar-ed-dowlah acted with so unbounded a sway, that Assef-ed-dowlah seemed reduced to a mere cypher. He obtained for Sëyd-mahmed-qhan, his eldest brother, the title of Actydar-ed-dowlah, or "The Powerful of the State," and bestowed upon him the Government of A8d. His second brother, Muäzzez-qhan, was decorated with the title of Muäzzez-ed-dowlah, or "The Honoured of the State," and also complimented him with the Government of Ilah-abad. To these titles he added a household of elephants, horses, furniture, and jewels, with every thing else suitable to their present high stations. In the same manner, he raised every one of his relations, kinsmen, or friends, to offices and to affluence, both in a degree too much above their merits, and at the same time he depressed and neglected every one of those who had been attached to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, or had of late attached themselves to the son. In short, his power and omnipotence rose to such a pitch, that there was not one man throughout the whole State, that dared dispute his will or oppose his pleasure.

M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, Minister of State.

Whilst so considerable a revolution was taking place at Lucknow, another, full as considerable, was taking place at Calcutta. After Shudjah-ed-dowlah's demise, Governor Hushtin had appointed Mr. Middleton to reside in Assef-ed-dowlah's Court, in the capacity of Agent for the Company, that is, to overlook and superintend the new Prince's actions and conduct; and he had resided but a short time at that Court, when there arrived at Calcutta three persons, appointed both by the King of the English and by the Company, to examine Governor Hushtin's late conduct. These were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, who came directly on the part of the Council of London, which is the Capital of Inghilter (for such is the name of the country inhabited by the English)(54). These three men, for a variety of reasons, mentioned in the preceding sheets, acquired, at the very beginning, an ascendant over Governor Hushtin in the Council, by overruling his opinion in every thing; and they made it a point, in direct opposition to his mind, to displace all the persons he had put in office, and to substitute

Arrival of General Clavering and of two others from Europe.

(54) This word has remained in India to design England, ever since it was imported by the Portuguese.

Djan Bristow appointed at the Court of Lucknow instead of Mr. Middleton.

others. Mr. Middleton was of the former number, on the sole reason of his having been appointed by the Governor. In his stead the three persons in question, but especially General Clavering, appointed Mr. Djan Bristow. As this was a very sensible young man, he soon discovered how idiot and incapable were both Assef-ed-dowlah himself and his Minister; in consequence of which discovery he extended his influence in such a manner that he soon became the omnipotent disposer of every thing in Assef-ed-dowlah's dominions. M8qhtar-ed-dowlāh, the Prime Minister, together with all the persons he had put in office, were all imprudent, ignorant men, as I intend to explain in the sequel, having chanced to arrive at Lucknow at that very time. Djan Bristow discovered, in the twinkling of an eye, what kind of men they were: a set of people whose characters there is no describing, as bearing no similitude to any thing of the human kind; with the shape of men, indeed, but with the inclinations, temper, and understanding of brutes, below which even some of them might have been very properly ranked! Djan Bristow, who was soon informed of every detail of their administration, engaged M8qhtar-ed-dowlah to a conference, in which, mixing some compliments with insinuations of his needing a protection for some parts of his conduct which might come to light, he so far worked upon that imbecile Minister's fears, that he engaged him to make over and cede to the Company the whole Province of Benares, which paid to Government only twenty-five lacs, but yielded seventy to Radja Belvent-sing, its Zemindar. Nor did this senseless man probably give any other share to his imbecile master in this affair, than that of communicating to him his own apprehensions and pusillanimity; and no wonder indeed, since this master was become no better than a mere beast of burthen, both to the Englishman and to the Minister. The donation was signed in due form, and sent to Calcutta with expedition. The Governor, as an Englishman, could not be but extremely pleased to hear of a gift that annexed to the English dominions such a country as Benares; but on the other hand, as he had himself gone to that city expressly for such a purpose, and had in vain requested several times such a cession from Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who as often had declined listening to it under a variety of excuses, he could not see without

concern that such a mighty affair should have been brought about in so little time by so young a man as Djan Bristow, who in dignity and station was like a drop of water in the ocean when compared to him. His concern was heightened by this particular circumstance, that this young man was attached to the General's party, and would necessarily by such a transaction acquire the highest merit with the Company at home, and with the men in power in London. What is very singular, and gives an insight into that improvidence so characteristic in M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's turn of mind, is, that he finished at once such a mighty affair, without once thinking of stipulating with the Council of Calcutta some conditions of protection to himself, in any future emergency! For it is certain that he had it in his power to make such a merit of that service of his, even in Europe, as might have brought the principal rulers of those parts to conclude with him a treaty that would have secured his influence, as well as his personal safety, against all attempts. The consequence of such a treaty would have been, that no man would have dared to say an angry word to him, so far from thinking of putting him to death; and even in the supposition that he might still have been made away with, his death would have been resented with torrents of blood by a set of men, who would have revenged it at all events, and even by transferring the dominion of those countries from Shudjah-ed-dowlah's posterity to that of the Minister's. But Heaven being bent on ruining and destroying the inhabitants of these climes, it happens that it is always the most imbecile and ignorant of men that chance to get at the helm; or if that helm be sometimes managed by men of sense, abilities, and experience, they become quite different from themselves, the moment they have got into that station, where they only seem intent on doing what they ought to abstain from, and in keeping at a distance from what they ought to perform.

In this manner then, Benares, with all its advantages, was severed from Shudjah-ed-dowlah's dominions, and annexed for ever to the English possessions of Azim-abad and Bengal; and in this manner did Djan Bristow work himself into so much influence, that nothing went forwards, and nothing could be transacted in the A8d, the Rohilcund, and the Anterbid, without his own management or special consent. Assef-ed-dowlah

himself, glad to have found a man who so willingly undertook to free him from the burthen of governing, was heard to say several times in an audible voice and in full Court, that Djan Bristow was his brother. "I have left," added he, "the dis-"posal of all affairs to his hands. Let every one be obedient to "whatever he shall command." To get rid still more of all cares, he took offence at some of his father's ancient Commanders, and picked up a quarrel with the troops he had disciplined and trained; and fancying that the money spent in keeping up those troops was so much treasure uselessly squandered away, he took measures to get rid of them all, that is, to get rid of his own wings and feathers. This event was brought about in a strange manner.

Senseless conduct of Assef-ed-dowlah.

Shudjah-ed-dowlah had formed a corps of four or five thousand men, composed entirely of gentlemen of ruined families from about Shah-djehan-abad and its environs, to whom he allowed a high pay of fifteen rupees per month, after having put them under the command of Seyd-aaly, an able officer, who accoutred and disciplined them in the English manner. They had only match-locks; but frequent training had rendered them so expert at these, that they fired with them as fast as the others did with flint-muskets; and as that corps applied itself diligently to their duty, and it contained even some men of distinction, the Prince shewed them a particular regard, and seemed to prefer them to his other troops. Assef-ed-dowlah, who seemed bent on discarding every one of those officers that had distinguished themselves in his father's service, and who made it his affair to strip himself of his own wings and feathers, resolved in secret to break this valuable corps. He sent for the whole of them, and ordered them to encamp at some distance from the rest of the army. As soon as they were encamped, an order came to them to return their field-pieces to the park of artillery, and with this order they complied, reserving only one or two pieces at most upon their flanks. An order then came to return these two pieces also, together with their muskets and accoutrements. On this order, the men apprehended that nothing less was meant than to disarm them first, and then to break and disperse them, without paying them their arrears. On this discovery, they answered, that they were ready to return

He disbands his father's disciplined troops, and discards his best officers

both the two pieces of cannon and their muskets, but that their arrears must be discharged previously. The Navvab was incensed at this answer, and turning towards M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, he observed that these people were insolent, and deserved immediate chastisement. The Minister answered, that they were His Highness's servant, and seemed to be in the right, as they requested no more than their due, adding, that he did not believe they harboured any other design. Assef-ed-dowlah, displeased at this apology, answered: "*Then I must go myself, if you do not choose to go.*" The Minister reflecting that, whilst the Prince was resolved to fight them in person, it would be improper in himself not to follow his master; and concluding that a refusal would cast a reflection upon his character, and do much mischief, submitted to the order, although with visible reluctance; and putting himself at the head of his own troops and of several bodies that joined him, he marched against those poor people. The latter, without being daunted by the sight, ranged themselves in battle, and although their Commander was dead, and they were destitute of Officers, they stood their ground and fought so bravely, that they had repulsed and beaten M8qhtar-ed-dowlah infallibly, had they been properly commanded, or had they been assisted, though ever so little, by some other corps. But the Minister had such a superiority in numbers, artillery, and ammunition, that he prevailed at last, but not without losing an infinity of men, in killed and wounded. The others, now reduced to a very small number, and these too destitute of ammunition, fled, and dispersed every one his own way. A vast number of men, every one Assef-ed-dowlah's servants, and every one ready to shed their blood for his sake, were uselessly left on the field of this bloody battle, and that senseless man, instead of weeping for the loss, rejoiced at the event, as if his arms had that day gained a great advantage.

This corps being disposed of in this manner, the wise man turned his views to some other disciplined corps, which had been put by his father under the command of his bravest and ablest eunuchs, at the rate of five or six battalions to each, giving the latter English names of military grades, such as those of Colonels and Generals. These were disciplined and trained in the English manner, and had each of them several pieces of

cannon, well mounted and well served. These eunuchs observing the turn of mind and particular temper of their new master, had every one of them set up a scheme of their own in their beads, and were thinking how to bring it to a completion. One of these was the eunuch Bessent-qhan(55), a man in great credit with his late master, and who indeed richly deserved his confidence for his bravery and abilities; he was therefore too high spirited to crouch to M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, and on all occasions pretended to an equality with him. Hence many bickerings had several times arisen between them, which had been made up by the mediation of common friends. But there happened one at this very time which soured their minds to such a degree, that no reconciliation seemed likely to take place, and on the other hand, the Navvab himself seemed very much cooled with respect to his Minister, whose absolute sway and close connections with Djan Bristow he did not relish at all. And he was thinking how to get himself rid of such an overbearing man, when this inclination of his having been guessed by Bessent, who went by the name of the General, the latter offered his services to the Navvab, his intention being to watch a proper opportunity, and to fall at once upon the Minister. In appearance, he seemed to be actuated by the Navvab's consent, and under his influence, but in fact he had already arranged his project with Mirza-saadet-aaly, and he intended, after having dispatched the Minister, to fall upon the master, with one and the same breath, without giving him time to recollect himself; after which the tragedy would have been finished by placing Mirza-saadet-aaly upon the throne.

The principal Military Officers think of providing for themselves.

Bessent-qhan, an eunuch, one of them.

He offers to serve his master in killing the Prime Minister.

This scheme having been fixed upon, Bessent put in motion so many secret resorts, that the breach between him and M8qhtar ed-dowlah was made up. Friends interposed, apologies were accepted, and a reconciliation upon fresh terms taking place, a treaty was concluded between them, which was confirmed and strengthened by all those false oaths and those feigned protestations that had become current in that faithless Court. This done, he invited the Minister to an entertainment, that is, to pass the whole day in his house, and the night in looking at an exhibition of dances, after which he was to return home at day-break. As-

(55) Bessent-qhan signifies the Lord Spring.

the Minister's days had been counted, and their term was come, he thoughtlessly accepted the invitation, and repaired to Court, where he obtained leave of absence for one day and night, and then went to Bessent's house. Meanwhile the latter had assembled some friends, in appearance to do honour to his guest. Amongst these were two sons of Mir-bakyr; the one called M8rad-aaly, and the other L8tf-aaly. He informed these of his intention to dispatch the Minister, and he entrusted them with the business. They accepted the proposal, and got themselves ready for the execution. Whilst they were receiving their last orders, the Minister himself arrived with all the pomp customary in that high office. Bessent came out of his house, and standing at the door, he made a profound bow, received the Minister with every demonstration of respect and honor, and carried him to the Hall of Audience, where he made him sit on a Mesned magnificently fitted for the occasion. It must be observed, that as the season was the hottest of the year, most of the principal men of the army and Court had dug apartments underground, to serve as shelter against the excessive sultriness of the weather. These were called ta-qhanas, or heat-houses, and they used to retire in them for the greatest part of the day. Bessent, in imitation of these, had likewise prepared such a subterraneous apartment; but it was with so much expense and elegance, that one would have thought it to have been fitted on purpose for the occasion. The morning growing hot, Bessent proposed to his guest to strip, and descend into the ta-qhana, and the Minister blinded by his destiny, went down. A moment after, Bessent represented how little it was proper in such sultry weather to remain full dressed, and he proposed to strip. The Minister stripped, and sat in an undress. Some of Bessent's most agreeable women were introduced at the same time, elegantly dressed and highly perfumed; so that the Minister's senses were all agreeably struck, and kept occupied at one and the same time. But some of Bessent's intimate friends have informed me in the sequel, that care had been taken to mix poison in the wine which the Minister had just been drinking, and that he could not have escaped by any means, even supposing that he should have not been killed with an armed hand. The entertainment being over, and the sun past the meridian, he thought proper to dismiss

most of his friends to their own homes, and he prepared himself to take a nap, which he did not know to be his last, and in which he was going to be conducted to the Gates of Eternity. By this time none of his friends remained in the house; or if any, they had, as well as all the servants, stretched themselves in some corner, to take their afternoon nap. At this moment M8rad-aaly with his brother and two or three more, descended in the ta-qhanah, and falling upon him with their sabres, they hacked him to pieces. Some of his servants who happened to be awake, fled instantly, and carried the intelligence to the Minister's quarters. Bessent, at the same time, repaired to camp, where every thing was previously prepared. He took with him some Companies of Talingas, and two pieces of cannon, and without loss of time, he marched on to the Navvab's quarters. The guards and sentinels desired them to stand at a distance, and would admit only Bessent with a few men. He went in, and presenting himself with his drawn sabre before the Navvab, he made his bow, and wished him joy on an execution, that had been compassed by his orders, and had delivered him from his enemy. The Navvab, fearful for his own life, asked him, "*Why he had come with his drawn sabre, and whether he intended to serve him as he had served the other?*" He answered, that he was too grateful a servant to raise his hand upon his good master. "*Then throw away your sabre,*" replied the Navvab. The man, whose last hour was come, had the impudence to throw his weapon away; which he had no sooner done, than the Navvab making a sign to the people behind the man, they fell upon him and dispatched him in the same manner as he had dispatched the Minister. Whilst this was doing, an uncle of Bessent's, better known under the name of "The Great Mirza," chanced to come to Court, as he often used to do, and seeing his nephew stretched on the ground, he drew his sabre, and cried out: *That if no one had any business with him, he would have no business with any one.*—"*No body wishes you ill,*" said the Navvab, who now feared that his turn was come, "*but please to go out;*" and he at the same time, cried aloud to the people who were without, to let him pass. He, therefore, went out; but as he offered no injury to any one, (and he was known to be a man of resolution) he was suffered to go home.

The Prime Minister murdered, by Bessent-qhan's management.

Mirza-saadet-aaly, on the first report of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's death, had armed himself, and mounting his horse, he had repaired straight to the quarters of the Ghossäins(56), who were two of the principal Commanders of the army; but he learnt that Bessent was killed. As he had come to camp armed and mounted, so as to be remarked by every one, he was confounded, and knew not what to do with himself, not daring either to attack the Navvab, or to stay where he was. "*If you will stand* "*by me,*" said he to the Ghossäin, "*we shall be able to do great* "*things, and then there will be no command or office above your* "*merit.*" The Ghossain excused himself, and Saadet-aaly, finding his own case desperate, requested of him a horse capable of performing a long voyage in one day. The latter sent for his favourite mare, an animal that would travel thirty or forty cosses in one day, and he desired him to make use of her, and to save his life. The latter mounted, and with no other company than that of his preceptor and tutor, Tefezzul-hossein-qhan, and a few servants, he fled unpursued, and continued his journey as far as the Djumnah; where, crossing over, he arrived safe in Nedjef-qhan's dominions. Nedjef-qhan, hearing of his arrival, mounted, and went out to receive him; after which he carried him to his own Palace, where he gave him a suitable apartment, made him a present of some Districts to defray his expenses, and complimented him with a numerous brigade of some thousands cavalry and infantry. But although he assisted him with the generosity of a Prince, he always behaved to him with the respectful deportment of an ancient servant. He was not pleased that Saadet-aaly should come to pay him visits, but he always went to see him himself, and always shewed him every demonstration of respect and honour. Whenever Saadet-aaly chose to go to him, Mirza-nedjef-qhan used to meet him at the gate of his Palace, where, taking him by the hand, he used to carry him to the hall of audience, and to make him sit on his own Mesned; after which he took his seat at a little distance.

And handsomely received by Nedjef-qhan.

On sight of such proceedings of Assef-ed-dowlah, the Commanders, that had served with distinction under his father,

(56) A Ghossain is a religious, always a Gentoo, who abstains from marriage, and goes naked, or nearly so.

became exceedingly suspicious, and every one of them turne his views towards saving himself. But as there remains n employment now in Hindostan for military men, especially sinc the introduction of Talingas, and a Prince, equally generous an valiant as well as friendly to the soldier, is a being so scarc and so difficult to be found, that it seems that the race of suc men has totally disappeared from the face of the earth; so, a those disgusted Officers, after much uneasiness of mind, wer obliged to stay where they were, and to go on with dissembling One of these Commanders was Mahb8b-aaly-qhan, an eunucl that wanted neither valour nor merit. On observing the conduc of his master's son, he was confounded and at a loss how to act He commanded a body of about ten or twelve thousand cavalry and infantry, as well as Talingas, armed with flint-locks, and he had been placed by his late master at Atava and Corrah, twc places, frontiers to the Marhattas, where he lived in great state and was much respected by the country. Assef-ed-dowlah whc wanted both to ruin and disperse his troops, was nevertheless desirous to prevent his running away, expecting that, forced by the want of employment, he would come with a few friends tc threw himself at his feet. The other had no objections, ever to that, provided it could be done with safety; else, he intendec to make the best of his way to Nedjef-qhan's army. Assef-ed-dowlah, fearful lest he might carry all his troops with him, conferred on the subject with Djan Bristow, and it was agreed that English troops, under the command of some able Captains, should be secretly sent to seize him; nor was this scheme imparted to any one else. The reason of his wanting to make away with his old troops, and his most valuable servants, was this:—He dreaded their influence in a country which he had not himself any talent to govern; for his whole soul was engrossed by the pleasure of serving as porter to the brawniest of his servants; in having those people perpetually at his elbows by day as well as by night; and in amusing himself with the childish pastimes of cock-fighting, kite-flying, and the like. He knew that government was a penible business that required the whole of an able man's time. That it was requisite that this able man should be perpetully working himself, and meanwhile inspecting the accounts and conduct of his heads of offices, as well as that

of his Commanders and Ministers, without, however, ceasing to converse perpetually with them. All these he detested, for they were all impossible to him. On the other hand, he knew that he was precisely the man which the English wanted at the head of a sovereignty; a man incapable of any business at all, save that of enjoying his pleasures; and sensible that they would never endure patiently that any injury should be done him, he was resolved to leave on their own shoulders the whole burthen of governing, and to reserve for himself only the sweets of it. The English, on their side, who are a shrewd, keen-sighted set of people, let him take his own courses, and even paid a regard to the rank and station of that strange species of favourites with which he was so much enamoured. Without minding their special business with him, they contented themselves with governing with an absolute sway every thing relative to revenue and war, and with disciplining troops, and keeping them at all times in readiness for action. Under the veil of such an imbecile Prince, they are in fact the sole masters of all the revenue-offices, and of all the Districts of the country, as well as of every preparative for war. And what is singular, both parties seem to be satisfied, and pleased with their lot. All that cannot be denied. But it cannot be denied neither, that meanwhile in consequence of such a partition, that house of Shudjah-ed-dowlah, which had been heretofore inhabited by a real Lieutenant of the ancient and glorious Emperors of Hindostan, which had afforded bread and employment to a lac of soldiers and to a thousand eminent Commanders and noblemen; that house that had constantly presented a sure resource to so many ruined families of the first rank; that house which seemed a copy in miniature of the Imperial Palace of Hindostan; that house is now become a den of thieves, and a tavern for the vilest of mankind; insomuch that it is become impossible to trace out the collateral remains of the families of Saadet-qhan and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, and of some other illustrious families. And yet it is undeniable that Shudjah-ed-dowlah, the last of those families had afforded a subsistence to twenty or thirty thousand horse, and to fifty or sixty thousand foot, that his camp afforded fortunes to a multitude of merchants, and a ready livelihood to an infinity of handicrafts-men; and that it bore all the appearance

of an Imperial camp. Now, how fallen! His Capital looks like a deserted village, with here and there some wretched, famished, inhabitants; and if any men in good plight appear anywhere in some houses in repair, rest assured that they are no others than a few Bacsariah soldiers and officers: a set of men from Bodjep8r and Bacsar, who, sometime before this revolution had taken place, thought themselves very happy to obtain two or three rupees per month. But if they be not Bacsariahs, then rest assured that they must be either Palace chairmen and servants, or elephant drivers.

"O take warning ye, that are endowed with eyes!"

To return to our narrative. The English Captains, after having received their instructions, departed at the head of three or four battalions of Talingas, and they approached Mahb8b-aaly-qhan's army, as if intending to go forwards. Being arrived close, they sent him a message, informing him that they would be glad to pay him a visit. Mahb8b did not object, and the visit was returned. I know not how the English managed to get into the town; for Mahb8b resided in it, although his army and artillery were encamped without. Three or four days after, the English having at the latter part of the night ranged their men and cannon as for an immediate engagement, were a little before day-break close upon Mahb8b's camp, where people proved either fast asleep, or gone out of camp, for their necessities; a few only excepted, that served as sentries, a word which amongst the English, signifies watchmen. These, in compliance with their rules, challenged them, and forbade their coming nearer. The English troops, not regarding the order, marched up; when some English Officers advanced within the camp, and said that they wanted to go forwards, and that there was no other road than through this camp. The others answered that they must take another road. The English Officers returned, and advancing at the head of a body of troops, fired into the camp, where by this time some people were in readiness; but where most of the others being either wounded or slain, the rest fled on all sides, leaving their cannon, arms, and baggage to the conqueror. Mahb8b-aaly-qhan, now finding how matters went, and that there remained no other party for him but that of submission, availed himself of the treat

The English lend their assistance.

that had intervened between the English Officers and himself; and taking his leave of them, he assembled his baggage and friends, and repaired to Court, where Assef-ed-dowlah, who wanted him just in that condition, shewed him much kindness, and gave him a pension.

There was then in those quarters another eunuch of rank and station; it was Letafet-aaly-qhan, who went by the name of the C8midan(57), and, in fact, commanded a whole brigade of three or four battalions. This man, hearing how the others had been used, wanted to save his life and to secure himself; and as he knew that Shudjah-ed-dowlah was by treaty obliged to keep a body of troops at the Emperor's Court, and he heard that a person was wanted for such a service, he offered himself, thinking it lucky enough to emerge at such a rate. Putting therefore in play certain powerful resorts which he knew, and distributing his money properly, he obtained that office, and departing at the head of his troops, he arrived at Court, where he paid his respects to the Emperor. After which he repaired to Nedjef-qhan's, to whom he found means to render himself so agreeable, as well as to his principal Commanders, that to this day he lives in plenty and dignity. It was at this time also, that the two brothers of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, who were too incapable to do any thing for themselves, were arrested and confined. Their property and furniture, as well as that of their late brother, was seized and confiscated. But their misfortune did not end there. They were, as well as some of his friends and servants, exposed for a length of time to a variety of hardships, until it being found that nothing was to be had from them, they were set at liberty. And what is singular, a Djaghir of a lac of rupees a year was settled on M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's son, his daughter, and his consort, for their subsistence(58); and it was by managing that estate for them that those two wretched men found means to support themselves. They were yet under

(57) Commandant.

(58) As the author, who had been inquisitive and circumstantial enough in other matters, is intirely silent as to this *Hors-d'-Euvre*, which is utterly dissonant from what has followed or preceded, one is inclined to believe that this pension of a lac of rupees, which so unexpectedly pops upon us, must have been in consequence of an injunction from the Supreme Council of Calcutta, which then remembered the gift of the Province of Benares.

confinement, when I, the poor man, arrived at Lucknow, where I found that Assef-ed-dowlah, with all his Court, and Mr. Djan Bristow, with all the English Grandees and Commanders had taken up their final residence. The whole Court, as well as the whole army, was there, and there remained no person of consequence at Feiz-abad but two Princesses. The one was the Navvab Begum, daughter of Saadet-qhan, consort to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, and mother to Shudjah-ed-dowlah; the other was Bho8-begum(59), consort to that Prince, and daughter to the famous Mahmed-issaac-qhan. These two virtuous Princesses, displeased with Assef-ed-dowlah's conduct and way of life, and attached to a city and Palace that had been built under their eyes and for their residence, by those three successive Princes, would not part with their habitations, but remained where they were.

Let it not pass unnoticed that Shah-djehan-abad was the native place of me, the poor man, as well as that of my father and mother, and of all my paternal and maternal ancestors(60). The former descended from the posterity of Hassen(61), by a branch sprung from Hibrahim, one of those who received the surname of Tebateba, and who shone amongst the most illustrious of that holy race. He quitted the illuminated city of Medina, and came and took up his residence at the sepulchre of that glorious martyr, Aaly, the Rezevian (upon whom may honour and grace rest for ever!). His descendants resided for a long series of ages upon that holy spot(62), watched by Angels, when one of them repaired to Hindostan, where he took up his abode, first in Delhi, and then in Shah-djehan-abad. The maternal ancestors of this the humblest of men, were Seyds of the

(59) This name signifies nothing else but the *Princess's daughter-in-law*, as the other signifies the *reigning Princess*.

(60) This change of subject, which might have been introduced to what preceds by an easy transition, has been left as it was, to give the reader a specimen of the desultory and incoherent style in which are written all histories in Asia.

(61) The Prophet gave his daughter, Fatema, to Aaly, his cousin, who had from her, Hassen, who died poisoned at Medina, and Hossein, the Persian idol, who was slain, or who died with thirst in the battle of Kerbelah, near Bagdad. It is from these two brothers that descend or pretend to descend, the thousands and ten thousands that style themselves in India and Persia, Hasseni-Seyds and Hosseini-Seyds.

(62) Tooss is the name of that glorious spot or city, a name little known but in books, the word Mesh-hed or *Martyr's Sepulchre* having taken its place universally.

M8ssevian branch, descended from that illustrious stock, Seyd-ahmed, son to M8ssa, grandson to Djaafer (upon all whom be peace for ever!), who is so renowned in Shiraz, the Capital of Pars(63), under the appellation of Shah-Chiragh(64), and where his tomb is extremely resorted to from all parts, by persons of all nations, numbers of whom daily have their prayers and supplications accepted; and that acceptance signified by

(63) That part of Iran called Pars, *alias* Persis, in Greek books, nor is the reader to lose sight of the word Parsa, or Persa, or Persian, which the Greeks, through ignorance of its meaning, gave to the whole nation, as a national name, whereas it was only an epithet which the Iranians gave themselves in opposition to the Greeks, whom they called Idolaters, and to the Arabians, whom they styled Astrolaters; the word *Parsa* signifying only *Pure; serving God*; *faithful*; just as the Ottomans to this day call their Empire, *the faithful country*, and their nation, *the nation of faithfuls. Saltanet Islamiah, Millet Islamiah.*

(64) We are much obliged to the author for his informing us who this Shah-Chiragh or Saint Lamp can be; a Saint held in so high veneration in India, that always a prayer is addressed to him (but not to God) whenever a Lamp is lighted in the evening in a house. Nevertheless, one is strongly inclined to believe that here, as in many other occurrences, two distinct worships have been blended into one: that of St. Lamp, with that of the real Lamp, called holy, out of respect. For amongst the many similarities one daily discovers between the religion of the ancient Persians, and that of the modern Indians, a high veneration for the Sun is one, as well as for its two substitutes, fire and a lamp. In this last article Mussulmen and Gentoos equally agree, *to wit*, in the prayer to the Lamp, and in welcoming it in a room with a respectful gait of the body. Those that make so much noise about a few miracles performed in an ignoble corner of the world, and recorded, if at all, by two or three ignoble men, long ago dead and buried, will do well to consider how they are to manage against thousands and ten thousands of living men of all ages, habilities, and opinions, and even sects, who all agree in recording the miracles they have seen last year, in such large populous Capitals, as Shiraz and Mesh-hed; miracles for the sake of which they are ready, if necessary, to cut the throats of every Englishman, and to be slaughtered themselves into the bargain. Persians are as willing to suffer martyrdom for the light of the Saint Portico, as are Greeks for the light of the Saint Sepulchre. Nay, the latter sometimes actually suffer it; and whilst we were in Mecca in 1770, we were informed by numbers of persons that two Greeks coming red-hot out of the holy sepulchre with the celestial fire in their hands, were rallied by two soldiers, when these men, at all times so submissive and crouching, but now become enthusiasmed, having answered by the most insulting language against the Mussulman Law and against the Prophet, became guilty of a capital crime. Life was offered them by the Governor, if they would atone for their offence, by becoming proselytes, and this having been constantly refused by both, for three days together, they were both sent to execution, to the great regret of the Judge, who related this affair himself, and said that he had to no purpose advised them to conterfeit themselves insane, or to say that they were drunk when they had quarrelled with the soldiers.

miracles stupendous, and innumerable are those prodigies that have ever been, and are to this day, performed under their eyes. Nor is there any thing more notorious all over the world, than that torrent of light that is endlessly pouring from his glorious portico. One of his posterity came to settle in Hindostan, from whom was descended Seyd-zin-el-abdin, my maternal grandfather, who was son to Aaly-verdy-qhan's aunt. At his death his mother undertook to put Seyd-zin-el-abdin's orders into execution, which were to marry, as soon as possible, her daughter, who was mother to the poor man; and this being performed, she retired to her house, where she lived seven years, upon the savings which her husband had made in Azm-shah's service, before he had so unfortunately quitted it. I came into the world about this time, being the year 1140, at Shah-djehan-abad, and was followed two years after by my brother, Seyd-aaly-naky-qhan. I was five years old, and my brother was three, when my grandmother, having sold her house at Shah-djehan-abad, quitted that city, and taking with her both her two daughters, and her two sons-in-law, as well as her whole family, she repaired to M8rsh8d-abad, in Bengal, where Aaly-verdy-qhan was then, in Shudjah-qhan the Nazem's service, and where she recommended to her nephew the families of her two daughters. Fortune commencing to favour our family, Aaly-verdy-qhan was in a few days after appointed Governor-General of Azim-abad, whither my father followed him, where he settled, and where our family has to this day, that is to the year 1195, lived in affluence, dignity, and splendour; for the houses we had bought, and the lands we had acquired by purchase, gift, or otherwise, during Aaly-verdy-qhan's administration, and by his favor, are to this day in our possession, thank God! Unluckily I happened, in the year 1188, to stand security for a zemindar, who had these many years the highest obligations to me, and from whom I was very far from expecting such a return, and so much perfidy, and being unexpectedly called upon by Government to pay sixty thousand rupees in his stead, fain I was to comply with my obligation, and to sell my jewels and plate, to the amount of thirty-one thousand rupees, making up the balance by borrowing it from a banker; and in this manner I got out of the hands of some English, and especially of the M8tsuddies and revenue-officers, who seemed

but to wait for a signal to come to hostilities with me. I was obliged to put into the banker's hands, as a security, the Altumgah of land which I possessed, and to look out for a new livelihood; nor was this to be had anywhere, after a very troublesome enquiry. At last it pleased fortune to raise up, for our benefit, General Goddard, a man of a merit so notorious as to need no praise, and of so much benevolence to me, the poor man, and, indeed, to all Indians in general, that hardly such another character can be found among the English. He happened to be appointed Governor of Chennar-gur, and to make some stay at Azim-abad. As I was an old acquaintance of his, I went to see him, and he had the goodness to enquire after my circumstances, and to hear, with apparent concern, the catastrophe that had undone my family. "*I am sorry to hear all* "*that,*" said he, "*but as I see no employment for you here, you* "*had better come with me, and we shall live upon what we can* "*get.*" I accepted the proposal, looking upon it to be one of the secret resources which had been kept in store by Providence for me; and in a few days I got myself ready, and followed him to Chennar. It was soon found out that the post in question was no more what it had been, in point of emolument, and did not defray the expenses incident to his station; but as it afforded his commisseration a proper field, he committed to my care whatever concerned the revenue matters of that town. Not satisfied with that, he appointed for my lodgings a house that had been fitted up for himself, and sent his own boats, amongst which was his own budgerow, (a vessel comparable to a house, for both spaciousness and commodity) to fetch my family and consort. When they arrived, he gave them a pension of three hundred rupees per month, and commanded his butler to furnish me with as many wax-candles as I should call for. After supplying me in this manner with every thing necessary to a beggar, he used to receive my visits with the utmost distinction, as of an equal. I have already observed that his income at Chennar was much below his expenditure. So that hearing at that time that Assef-ed-dowlah, dissatisfied with his old troops, had dismissed them all, and wanted to raise and discipline new ones, at the head of which he wished to place some English Colonel, he conceived that such an employment would better suit his

temper than the stationary life he led at Chennar, and that it would prove likewise more profitàble to both himself and me. But as he had no acquaintance with Mr. Djan Bristow, and he did not think proper to make such a request in his own name, he asked my opinion about the matter. I proposed that he should give me a letter of recommendation to another Englishman, a friend of Mr. Bristow, to whom by that means I would find a ready introduction, with an opportunity of sounding the ford without compromising his name. This he approved; and giving me the intended letter, he wished me a good journey. I left at Chennar my family, consort, children and dependants, and with a few attendants only, I set out for Fëiz-abad and Luckow. As the city of Djonp8r was in my way, on my arrival there, I heard that it had become the residence of the venerable and illustrious, our Lord and teacher, Seyd-mahmed-askery, (whose spirit may God Almighty keep for ever refreshed!) a noble personage, renowned for learning and sanctity; and of whom I had heard so much at Chennar by his zealous disciple, Seyd-moluvy-zafer-aaly, (whom God may continue to illume in the other world as he did in this!) that I sent to desire leave to pay him a respectful visit. Being admitted, I spent two whole hours in his company; and having heard from his own mouth a conversation which seemed a compendium of all his excellencies, I departed glad to my heart, and fully satisfied that fame in her encomiums had fallen short of what I had seen with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears. And to this day, I remember that illustrious personage with so much respect, that I think it proper to suspend the relation of my own voyage, in order to afford the reader a glympse into the many excellencies of that illustrious character.

He was of a family of Seyds that ranked these many ages with the principal and most respected ones of the city of Djonp8r.

"This Seyd of virtuous disposition
"Had wrote a book of practical morality;
"All the rules of which he did extract from his own practice,
"Very different in that from those who write of morality and lead a sinful life.
"His dialectic was such, that it seemed to flow from the fountain of science itself;
"His advices and counsels were so many remedies against sickness and sorrow;
"His beams emitted, in every direction, torrents of light;
"And his very nod or other sign seemed to teem with some secret."

Although he was an assemblage of all the arts and sciences, he spoke with so much modesty, that whilst every one was retiring from his company with some kind of benefit in his own way, he was praising him as a man of a rare deportment. He lived contented upon a small income, without intending or expecting any thing more. But although he had not learned the sciences in the order they are taught, nor in the manner usual amongst students, he had found means to supply by the keenness of intelligence and the extent of perspicuity, all that might have been wanted from explanation in the knowledge of words; and in the elucidation of sense. By the force of his own genius, he had made himself a repository of all the sciences, practical and intellectual; insomuch that no difficulty in the word, no obscurity in the sense, could stop or embarrass him. No wonder then, if his house was resorted to by all the learned persons of that city and neighbourhood, and by numbers who perpetually travelled thither from far and near, being either learned themselves, or desirous of learning and knowledge.

VERSES FROM HAFYZ.

"My beauteous one, who has never been in a school, or can write a single letter,
"Has, with a single nod of his, told me more than a hundred professors
"would explain."

The natural turn of his genius was modesty. So little inclined was he to depreciate the merit due to others, that he was studious to depress and conceal his own.

VERSES FROM HAFYZ.

"I admire that character under the blue canopy of heaven,
"Which can still remain free, whatever its influence may be."

"He gave his time to reading lectures, which is the noblest "of all occupations. The noblest and most pleasing of all being "to bring to light the treasures of hidden knowledge; and in this "he had no sordid view. His intention being only ot obey his "master's injunctions."

VERSES FROM SHEH BÆHAHI.

"A moral sentence, pronounced in a place of debauch,
"Has the full effect of incense burned—against bad air and a malignant eye.
"That virtuous man's manner was not like that of the puffed ones of this age.
"Amongst so many beauteous ones, I am in love with thy particular air;
"I am mad with it; else, there is plenty of beauty elsewhere.
"To make a parade of one's learning, he thought to be a very vile action,
"And thought that an excellence that produces only pride and vanity, amounts
"to a satire upon the owner."

VERSES FROM EURFI.

"To forget the virtuous actions of a worthy man,
"And to keep a register of his blemishes and vices,
"Is all that can be expected from self-applause and hypocrisy."

Whenever any one introduced in his presence a discourse in dispraise of a man's character, either directly, or indirectly, he had too much good manners to stop him, or to reprimand him, but would adroitly turn the discourse to some other object, without affording the speaker any subject of offence.

VERSES FROM QHACANI.

"Spreading as grateful a scent in his conversation as a pod of China musk(65),
"But as solidly full of science as an Indian nutmeg is of aromatic matter."

He recounted himself the following story, which does him a great deal of honour :—

I have no objection, said he, to the reputation and high character of Sheh-sadr-djehan, *alias* Mia-angn8, who is deservedly acknowledged for one of the ablest and most learned professors of the age, and had a particular talent in polemiç writing ; but who having in time acquired a turn of mind for dispute, had become an enthusiast, and seemed only to look out for an adversary. I had, said he, a great deal of regard for him, and he, on his side, seemed fonder of my fociety, than of that of any other. Being one day in his house, I amused myself with perusing some parts of Mir Hussëin's book, (on whom may mercy repose for ever!) and as Mia-angn8 knew of my being a Shya, he stopped my reading, and said, come let us sit down together, and examine which of the two sects is the right one, the Shyas, or the Sunnies. But as he was superior to me, not only in knowledge and learning, but also in years, I answered with much respect and deference, that it did not become me to dispute with a person in every respect my superior, and that I was not likely to come off with honor in so unequal a contest. For all reply he repeated his request, and I repeated my excuse; but he continued to intreat me so earnestly, that for fear of giving offence, I was obliged to seem to enter the lists, and after having added, that it little became me to stand a dispute against such a master as he, unless it might be in submission to his own pleasure, I observed that to try the question by the revealed word of God

(65) Those who have not seen a pod of musk, will be glad to hear that although ever so replenished, which few are, it is full of inequalities that decele empty parts.

itself in the Coran, and by the sayings of the Prince of Envoys, was not without difficulties, as the first was full of many obscure passages, whilst the latter might be accused of sophistication; but that I believed the matter in dispute might be reduced at once to this plain question: *"Whether the most excellent of the sons of men, after the Prophet himself, was Ab8-bekr, son to Ab8-cohafa, or Aaly, son to Ab8-taleb*(66)*?"* That this being once determined, the matter would come to a conclusion of itself, and that it depended upon him to determine it, independently of the word of God, and of the sayings of His Prophet. Now as there is in the world such a variety of matters that indicate the qualities, the attributes, and the workmanship of God, I ask where and how we are to find out which of these branches of knowledge is the highest and the noblest? At these words, he paused a little, and answered, that the noblest and highest of them was the knowledge of God. It is so indeed, replied I, and no man in his senses will deny it. Now amongst these various branches of knowledge of God, which is the noblest and highest? Here he paused again, and answered, the knowledge of the attributes of God. Now, replied I, there are extant several messages, speeches, sentences of Aaly's, about the unity and the other sublime qualities of God. Do you know any of Ab8-bekr's? I should be glad to hear them. Here he fetched a deep sob, and answered, *"That to this day he had been sunk in ignorance and "darkness, and had not been aware of the truth;" and I thank "God,"* added he, *"that I have got it at last by being in your "company. It is you that have converted me."*

But all conversion comes from God. That illustrious Sëyd at that moment was heard to drop some enigmatical verses about Aaly, which is worth our while to repeat. Here they are:

"On looking at the innermost recesses of my heart,
"I have found Aaly himself, and nothing but Aaly.
"The love of him is consuming my heart, and it says it is no pain;
"I sink my head in his bosom, and my heart says it is no great proof of love.
"The rose besprinkled with the dew is inferior to the beauty of his face,
"And the sweat that drops from it is a pure refreshing water that cools my
"visage."

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(66) Ab8-bekr was the protector of Mahommet, and also a relation of his, and he became his first successor. Aaly was his cousin, and he became his fourth successor; but he had been no more than the best soldier in the Propnet's army.

This venerable man died at the age of seventy, in the year 1195 of the Hedjra, and he repaired from this fragile world to the mansions of eternity. The words, *May God keep cool the place of his repose!*(67) contain his chronogram. May God Almighty join him to the assembly of his pious ancestors, upon whom all be greeting and grace!

To return to my voyage. Being arrived at Lucknow, I was introduced to Mr. Djahn Bristow, to whom I explained the subject of my voyage, informing him at last of General Goddard's intention. He gave his consent, and after having obtained that of the Navvab Assef-ed-dowlah, he wrote to the Council on the subject. After sometime the consent of Council came likewise, and he sent for me to inform me of it. Happy to find how my journey had been successful, I put an end to it, and quitted Lucnow, previously informing the General of the success of my negotiation. But he had been already fully informed, having received the orders of the Supreme Council thereon, and he had set out immediately by the post for Lucknow, leaving budgerows, boats, and harcarahs, and his own moonshy, or Persian Secretary, with orders to bring up my consort and family from Chennar-gur. So great was his kindness for me, and so great his solicitude for whatever concerned by well-being. He had likewise the attention to send me notice of his departure, and of the orders he had left. This letter he entrusted to a sensible messenger of his, who had orders to look out for me on the road, and to give me the letter wherever he could get of my tidings. The letter came to hand, when I was already arrived at Djonp8r. Fain I was then to return to Lucknow, and to embark with my family, which I also found there; and I remained at Lucknow ten months more, my voyage having lasted in all fourteen months, in which time that generous man had assisted me with sums to the amount of ten thousand rupees. I lived happy with him; and the time was come for his being employed, when my scheme, always dependent on his own, came to be overset entirely. Mr. Djan Baistow was recalled, and Mr. Middleton was sent to Assef-ed-dowlah's Court in his stead: and this gentleman, with whom the General had connections, and from whose friendship

(67) This is an Arabic apprecation, often inscribed upon tomb-stones, and often in the mouth of those that visit burying grounds.

and concurrence he expected every thing, came to declare himself against the scheme he had set up. A disunion succeeded, and a riveted coldness took place between the two friends; and myself being now become sensible of the consequence of such a mutual dissatisfaction, I took my leave and returned to Azim-abad.

The Author resumes his narrative of public events.

I was yet at Lucnow, when it was thought necessary to give a successor to the murdered Minister. No person in that multitude of courtiers and Grandees having been found capable of such an office, it was thought proper to recur to Iredj-qhan, whom we have mentioned to have retreated to Delhi after Shudjah-ed-dowlah's death, on pretence of renewing the treaties with Shah-aalem and Mirza-nedjef-qhan. Assef-ed-dowlah, being in want of his assistance, wrote him a letter full of expressions of esteem and kindness, requesting his immediate attendance. Iredj-qhan, who made no great account of his master's protection, on which he reposed very little confidence, wrote to Djan Bristow, who was the acting Minister in Assef-ed-dowlah's dominions, and he informed him, that amongst several other conditions, which he pointed out, he wanted a safe conduct for his person, honor, and fortune: a safe conduct subscribed by himself, and without which he would not move from the place in which he actually was. This request was no sooner made, than it was complied with; and he arrived at Lucknow, where having been invested with all the office and all the authority of Prime Minister, he was immediately complimented with a rich Qhylaat, a military music, a fringed paleky, a lofty elephant, and all the other insignia of authority and command. As he harboured a secret resentment against M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, and several persons of his family, he commenced the exercise of his office by giving a severe reprimand to the two brothers of the deceased, and by ordering them into a rigorous confinement, where they were kept for a length of time, and from whence they were not released until after he had wrung from them by dint of violence and ill usage every thing which could be extorted. This rigorous usage did not fail to concern my natural sensibility. I thought it incumbent upon me to pay some regard to the title of Seyd, which they bore in common with me, (although I am but the last of mankind), and to shew

Iredj-qhan, Prime Minister of Lucknow.

some respect for certain connections which had subsisted between the deceased and my house; for we were both descended from families of the Tebatebah branches, and I therefore exerted my little influence in behalf of the two afflicted brothers, but all to no purpose. The Ministers's power, however, proved of short duration, and some time after, a Djaghir of one lac of rupees was settled on the deceased's son, consort, and daughter; the management of which estate afforded likewise a subsistence to the two brothers. It afforded them also the opportunity of coming sometime to Court, and paying their respects to Assef-ed-dowlah and his Ministers; but otherwise they lived in retirement and silence. And this little incident brings to our recollection a nephew of these persecuted brothers, who after having once cut a great figure in the deceased's time, had in the sequel come to Azim-abad, where he had a lease of the Pergunnahs or Districts of Sanda and Beliah. He was a great friend of mine, and we were greatly attached to each other. This was Mahmed-aaly-qhan. Finding me unexpectedly at Lucknow, he used to visit me as often as he could, and always took care to make long visits. He was then exerting himself to obtain some preferment, and observing how much I was considered by General Goddard, he wanted to avail himself of my interest, and complained much of the avarice and want of sense of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's two brothers, as well as of the eunuch that governed the deceased's family; nor did he ascribe his ill-success to any but to them.

After having spoke so much of the Ministers of the Court of Lucknow, I must say something more of the private life of its Prince, and must acknowledge that although I had frequent opportunities of conversing with Assef-ed-dowlah, and examining his behaviour, he did not appear destitute of sense; and this, after all, is nothing but what has been said in times of yore by the famous Teacher (68), (on whom may grace and mercy repose for ever!) in his renowned Mesnevi:

"The hawk's keen-sight and his strength of pinion, as well as the genius of man,
"Are all so many gracious gifts of the Almighty Artist upon His own work."

(68) This famous teacher is Mo8lana, Djelaleddin, a Turk of Natolia, who wrote, in elegant Persian verses, a Treatise of Ethics, known under the title of Mesnevi-romi, or the Roman or Turkish Mesnevi: a book held in the highest esteem all over the East, where it is in general sung in companies, or read in a psalmodying manner. The translator has an excellent portrait of this elegant

For although he seemed not destitute of sense, yet his company was composed of the scum of mankind, where, however, one might discover here and there a man of birth, as well as a vile contemptible wretch. He seemed intent only on pastimes, amusements, dances, music, and pleasures; in which sports he spent his time without the least regard to decency or any sense of shame. As to those infamous secret practices to which he had the meanness to addict himself without either scruple or remorse, and with such a feminine ardour, he managed so that there appeared no trace of them either in his discourses or in his public behaviour; insomuch that he might have been taken for a man quite stranger to that way of life. It was remarked that although he sometimes would throw his handkerchief to the stoutest of his musqueteers or to the brawniest of his archers, yet such digressions affected but little the whole tenor of his life; nor would an unacquainted man have taken him to be that strange being who delighted in making himself a porter to those Talingas of his, who by their continual attendance on his person, were called his Orderlies. Every morning, as far as twelve o'clock, was spent in going from garden to garden, and from seat to seat, where he amused himself in looking at his elephants, and every third day he made them fight together. This pastime, and that of retiring in cool shady places with his Orderlies, and some other people of the same stamp, all people skilled in those practices so delicious to him, engrossed his whole soul. But there was another article in which he seemed to take a pleasure, and this was promoting marriages. Salar-djung, his uncle, had promised one of his daughters to M8qhtar-ed-dowlah for his son, but the match had been broke off by the latter's disgrace and death. Assef-ed-dowlah being informed of it, prevailed by dint of intreaties on the bride's father to go on with the match, and not content with that, he undertook to

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writer, which must have been copied from an original painted after the life, or from an excellent copy, as no Indian painter can be supposed to know any thing of the dress worne in those days by the Turks (400 years ago), nor of the particular style of trimming their beards, nor of the particular turbant of a Turkish man of the law, still less of the appearance which a man cuts when pinched with cold, and wrapped in furs. There are two or three Mesnevis more by other hands, but by no means in so high estimation.

furnish the whole expense of the ceremony, which he accordingly did, and with a deal of pomp and magnificence. His disposition was so inclined to such scenes, that whenever he heard of any match being upon the carpet, he sent his compliments to the parents, undertook to perform the part of one, and appointed one of his courtiers to perform the part of the other; nor would he give over his attendance, until the match was brought to a full conclusion. He once undertook the marriage of Caím-qhan, superintendent of his elephants, and I, the poor man, happening to be present, received His Highness's commands to attend personally, and to perform my part.

We have observed how addicted he was to pleasures, which none but women could have thought of. He had also all the fickleness of a woman. Amongst the slave-boys bred in Shudjah-ed-dowlah's house, there was one called Imam-baqsh, a man very quarrelsome and of the worst morals and behaviour in the world. Whilst Assef-ed-dowlah was yet a youth, this fellow had found means to elope to him, and to become one of his favourites, in that particular style to which he was a slave; but the father informed of his retreat, and of the perpetual insolencies and excesses the upstart committed on account of the favor he enjoyed, he ordered him to be confined in irons, in which to all appearance he would have remained, had not some principal Commanders supplicated His Highness to dismiss and banish him, a request which was granted. The man fled to Tanda, where he kept himself concealed, and from whence he found means to keep a correspondence with his young master, who, on his father's demise, made haste to send him letters of recall. To the amazement of all, he introduced him into high offices, and as by the death of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, and the resignation of Mahb8b-qhan, there were several bodies of Talingas left without Commanders, and which amounted to about thirty or forty thousand men, besides four or five thousand horse, he gave him the command of that whole army. So thoughtless a promotion could not but raise the indignation and discontent of every officer in the army, as well as the jealousy of every man in his dominions. This man by these means was raised to a degree of power, to which the ambition of no Commander of the army, and no Grandee of the Court had yet aspired !

A worthless slave-boy made Generalissimo.

remember to have been several times in his company, and to have had some conversation with him; and I can protest that I never saw anything so vile and so vicious; nothing so destitute of all shame, either in words or actions. He seemed to be fitted for the station of a menial servant at two rupees per month, and this, too, on condition that he should mend his vicious way of life.

"He was very dear even at that price; for he was worth nothing at all,
"to tell you the truth."

In fact, he was richly deserving to keep a shop of Bang(69). And yet this man's favour and power rose to such a height, that no less a man than Hassen-reza-qhan, the Minister, was afraid of his influence, and strove to be upon good terms with him. Whilst he was in the middle of so much power and grandeur, Assef-ed-dowlah's heart changed at once with respect to him, and a few days after my departure from Lucknow, he became so sick of his company and person, that he ordered him to be banished his dominions, half naked, and on foot, forbidding any one to give him clothes or any carriage whatsoever. Guards were sent to his lodgings, and his whole property was confiscated. From that day no tidings were ever heard of him.

After all these confiscations, it was strange enough to see Assef-ed-dowlah betray the utmost aversion against parting with any of his money, unless it was to pay the pensions due to his Orderlies. Whenever any one besides made bold to ask his pay or his arrears from him, he from that moment became his enemy; nor could he bear to hear of such a demand, and he was ever after ready to shed his blood. Sometime before my arrival at Lucknow, several officers and others had gone in a body, and had asked and received their arrears. Many of these had the wisdom to disappear immediately, but some others having ventured to tarry, were all seized sometime after, and all blown at a gun; and this execution happened during my stay in that

(69) A shop of Bang may be kept with a capital of no more than two shillings, or one rupee. It is only some mats stretched under some tree where the Bangeras of the town, that is, the vilest of mankind assemble to drink Bang. This is a potion made of the sommities of dried male-hemp, which has a most ugly green appearance, and possesses such intoxicating charms, that there is no parting any more with it, when a man has once used it for a couple of weeks. But in two years' time it always reduces a man to a skeleton, and stupifies his mind totally.

city. It frightened all the world; so that a few days after the Ghossain Fakyr, a Commander of character and importance, having spied a favourable moment, quitted the camp, and with his arms and baggage marched across the country, and reached Nedjef-qhan's army, with whom he took service; and in the same manner, all the descendants and relations of Saadet-qhan and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan found means, one after another, to quit Lucknow and to repair to Nedjef-qhan's camp.

Iredj-qhan is sent for, and made Prime Minister.

We have mentioned that Iredj-qhan had been sent for and entrusted with the whole management of Assef-ed-dowlah's affairs as his Prime Minister. This man shewed himself at once capable of his office. He commenced bringing the finances into order, and little by little, both the high and the low accustomed themselves to look up to him as to their centre. In a conference with Djan Bristow, that omnipotent man, he asked him, "*What business he could possibly have with the Government, and with the affairs of those countries? A sum of money is yearly due to you by treaty for the maintenance of your Brigade. Do receive that money from me, but meddle no more with any thing. Keep yourself on the footing on which you, as Agent from the Company, have been placed by the treaty subsisting between your Government and Shudjah-ed-dowlah's family; but if you go one step further, I inform you that your pretensions shall be imparted to the Supreme Council, and that your conduct in those countries shall undergo a discussion there between you and me.*" Djan Bristow, little accustomed to such a style, repented his having been so earnest in sending for such a man, and he was examining how he ought to manage with him, when the Minister fell into a bad habit of body. His natural heat by degrees forsook him, and his distemper turned out to be a confirmed dropsy; so that after lingering a month and some days, he departed this life. After his death, both Assef-ed-dowlah and Mr. Djan Bristow were anxious to appoint a fit man to such an office, and they both turned their eyes on Hassen-reza-qhan. This nobleman had once been Superintendant of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's kitchen-office, and on that account he was a little known to Assef-ed-dowlah; insomuch that, for some time he was preferred to all others for carrying messages to Mr. Djan Bristow. Being therefore admitted to secret conferences with both parties, he

The Prime Minister dies.

had acquired some credit, and both thought of conferring the office of Naib or Deputy upon him. But he was so slothful and indolent, so averse from entering into coversation with the heads of office and other men of business, (without which, however, there is no governing), so addicted to his pleasures and repose, and in imitation of his master, so averse from all kinds of business, that he declined himself that high office. The by-standers themselves, who knew his genius to the bottom, could not understand why they persecuted the poor man, to make him a Minister at any rate, and to load him with an office of which he was utterly incapable. God knows for what reasons, Mr. Djan Bristow had resolved, not only on keeping this poor man in office against his own will, as a Deputy to a Prime Minister, invisible, but also on appointing another Deputy to him for the purpose of executing the penible part of the office. This able man was found out for him by his friend and favourite, Ismail-beg, a Persian(70), who was one of the shrewdest, most artful,

Is succeeded by Hassen-reza-qhan, a very indolent man.

(70) Our Author, who has so inadvertently made himself liable to much censure by the double part he has in his own narrative acted in many places, and especially at the Siege of Patna by Shah-aalem, speaks with great partiality against some men of whom he cannot have had but a transient view These men are three in number. We know them personally these fifteen or twenty years, and suppose that they are all three our friends, but two of them are certainly so Nevertheless, so different is our opinion from his, that some years ago we mentioned them as the only men of genius and universal abilities, who had ever been seen in Bengal under a turbant. These were Mirza-cazem-qhan, the friend of Lord Clive, Aga-ismail-shoraw (or Saltpetre), the man spoken of here, and Seyd Mahmed-qhan, now at Benares.* These three men might by an attentive government, be put to any use. They would prove shrewd negotiators, able Governors, great Accomptants, good military Commanders, and counsellors, universally informed. Every one of them has come in distress in India, and has been the artisan of his own fortune; and were a thorough disaster to befall them again, they would make no difficulty to trudge on foot, to curry their own horses, to sew their own clothes, to mend their own saddles, and to cook their own victuals. Aga-ismail-shoraw, in particular, is a sincere man, and a steadfast zealous friend. He once came to us at Lucknow, where he mentioned to have just seen the lady of an Englishman, which had taken a liking to the Hindostany dress, and was just wearing it that morning; upon which we put several questions to him about the style of her dress and jewels, all which he answered, and we had a great deal of jocular talk on that subject, and also on the dress of some other ladies. But having, by mere chance, and without any malice at all, asked what stuff her long-drawers were made of, and added some

* In 1789 at Calcutta.

and most time-serving men of his age. He had already bee long in employment amongst the English, having been entruste with the Post Office, and with the business of stationing spie and procuring weekly intelligence from Delhi; offices of trus conferred upon him so early as the times when Shah-aalem and the English had their residence at Ilah-abad. This Ismail-beg had from longhand connections with Haider-beg-qhan, a Cab8l-ian, whom he introduced to Mr. Djan Bristow, after having entered into a secret treaty with him by which he secured some pecuniary advantages to himself. The Cab8lian, who was an intriguing man, and one accustomed to sow, that great ones might reap, had been introduced to Mr. Djan Bristow so early as the first appearance of Iredj-qhan's distemper; and he had been recommended by Ismail-beg as an able man, fit to execute the penible office of the Naib's Naib or Deputy's Deputy. This Haider-beg-qhan was, as well as his brother, Mirza-n8r-beg, a man versed in revenue matters, having successively rented most of the Districts of the Province of A8d from Shudjah-ed-dowlah. He was extremely rude and severe in collecting his rents, paid no regard to friendship, was intent on his own profits, and had become nearly insociable. Being greatly in arrears to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, that Prince had made him over to his guards, together with his brother, and these having orders to enforce payment, fell upon them both with such a storm of slaps, blows, and kicks, that the elder brother died under the operation; the younger, who was Haider-beg-qhan, escaped with life, by making proper applications to that Prince's favourites. Sometime after this event, that Prince died; and this man who had been but a few days ago buffeted by the meanest of the guards, and had despaired of his own life, was now by the prevalence of his fortune, called up from that state of dejection, and ordered to assume the collection of full two corores of rupees, which is in fact to assume the absolute dominion over so much ground. Hassen-reza-qhan, who did not like to be Prime Minister, objected both to his being kept in office himself, and to his being saddled with a Deputy;

To whom Mr. Bristow is obliged to give a very active Deputy.

Character of that Deputy.

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remarks upon the stuff which we should particularly recommend for drawers, the man who had been all along laughing and joking, gave at once a serious cast to his features and said, drily: *Sir, I never think of the drawers of a friend's consort.* Such a man is that Ismail-beg-shoraw.

but he was over-ruled by Mr. Djan-Bristow, who determined that he should be invested with the office of Naïb, or Deputy to Assef-ed-dowlah, and that Haïder-beg-qhan should be Deputy to himself, Hassen-reza-qhan. Rich Qhylaats were put upon their shoulders, with such a difference in the richness, however, as should discriminate their respective relations, and the same nicety was observed in presenting them with elephants, horses, and sets of jewels. From that day Haïder-beg-qhan was engrossed intirely by the affairs of his department; and Hassen-reza-qhan, who had been complimented with a *Djaghir of one lac* of rupees, turned his views *intirely towards cool* retreats, pastimes, voluptuous, and secret pleasures, just as if these verses of Hafyz had been addressed to him *personally*:

" *Get up boy, and make haste to fill up that glass of wine,*
" *Make haste for life passes away meanwhile, and the motion of the*
" *sphere knows no rest;*

He now went less frequently to Court, and he intirely addicted himself to a life of ease and voluptuousness. He seemed to be the man of whom the poet had said:

" *Whatever is provided for thee by the decrees of Fate will come to thee;*
" *Will come to thee, at any rate, whether thou wilt give thyself any motion*
" *for it or not?*"

It was observed on this promotion that every man, who came into office, made it a point to propose to his master a reduction in the troops and pensions; and a revolution taking place accordingly in the affairs, some that had lived in opulence came to want water to drink, whilst streams of that element were pouring of themselves at the very doors of some others, who had not so much as dreamed about it. But it happened that, at the very time when Djan Bristow's scheme was taking place, and establishing itself solidly, his protector at Calcutta, General Clavering, was quitting this world, the book of his existence having been closed and shut up. The Governor's party acquired thereby a prevalence; and Mr. Djan Bristow being recalled, Mr. Middleton was sent to reside in his stead. From this sudden change, General Goddard, who then was at Feroh-abad, but who had great connections with the new Resident, had conceived great hopes both for himself and for me; the more so, as this gentleman, on his arrival at Lucknow, had inquired for me from Mr. Djan Bristow's assistant, and had informed him of his having a letter

from the Governor for me, with many recommendations. On this intelligence I waited on that gentleman. He took me into a closet, and putting the Governor's letter in my hands, he bade me read it; this I did, and I explained the contents. These he seemed to hear with attention and pleasure, then shewed me a deal of kindness, and requested me to come to see him, and to talk with him in private whenever I should have any thing to impart. And matters went on for some time in a favorable manner, when the same Englishman, who seemed to be his assistant, and in fact was his right-hand man, being secretly gained by Haider-beg-qhan, and fearing likewise a diminution of his own influence, should I ever come into office, gave Mr. Middleton to understand that it was very improper in him to make his confidant of a man who held a correspondence with the Governor. This short remark had its full effect, and Mr. Middleton becoming impressed with suspicions on a variety of accounts, at once turned a new leaf with me, and commenced shewing me the utmost neglect. Such a total alteration in his behaviour could not long remain a secret, and concluding that there was nothing to be done for me in those parts, I thought that the only party left was to obtain General Goddard's leave to repair to Azim-abad, and this he gave not without much reluctance. Sometime after, Mr. Middleton turned a new leaf with General Goddard also, who was his old friend. A frozen coldness took place between them. The General lost his appointment, and I was thunderstruck when I saw him again at Azim-abad, from whence he proceeded to Calcutta. He had the goodness to desire my attendance in that journey and to take me with him, and for some time he expected to recover his footing, in which case he intended to make use of my services, when he was himself appointed to serve in the army commanded for the Decan, as we have said in our former volume: so that I returned to Azim-abad. The dominions of Assef-ed-dowlah remain now as they were, still under the apparent management of Hassen-reza-qhan, who enjoys the emolument and honors of the Deputyship, in retirement and voluptuousness, but really under the government of Haïder-beg-qhan, his Deputy, who undergoes all the fatigue, and assumes all the authority of the collection of the revenue; nor was that Minister's influence affected by the recall of that same

Mr. Middleton, who, on some displeasure conceived against him by Mr. Barwell, one of the Members of the Council, had been dismissed from his office. On the contrary, it received even some accession; for on that antagonist's going home, Mr. Middleton was immediately sent back, together with Mr. Johnson ; and now the whole government at Lucnow is in the hands of those two English gentlemen : a state of things which brings naturally to our remembrance the situation of Nedjef-qhan, their next neighbour.

SECTION XVIII.

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Conquests of Nedjef-qhan, who is become a Sovereign Prince.

NEDJEF-QHAN, after the conquest of Acber-abad and the Fortress of Dig, had now become a Sovereign Prince. Intent only on whatever could establish and increase his power, his army, which he was augmenting incessantly, became so numerous, that there is hardly mentioning its numbers without seeming to deal in exaggerations. His two favourite Commanders alone, that is, Nedjef-c8ly-qhan and Afrasiab-qhan, were at the head of two corps that could not amount to less than ten or twelve thousand cavalry and as much infantry. It is true they had both been his slave-boys; but it must be acknowledged that their personal prowess and their military talents were such as warranted all that elevation: the former, especially, who bears a distinguished character for a headlong courage, and an irresistible impetuosity; insomuch that it has been more than once observed, that leaving all the other Generals behind, he seemed intent upon equalling his master himself. Another valorous Commander of Nedjef-qhan's army and as good a soldier as himself, was Mahmed-beg-qhan the Hamadanian, a General who, by the nobility of his race and the frankness of his character, seemed another Nedjef-qhan: two qualifications in which he was superior to all the Commanders of the army, and especially to the two persons just mentioned. There were several other officers of character in that army, most of them being those that had served with honor under Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and had fled from his son's capital or from his camp; for instance, the two Ghossains, who had under their commands a body of six or seven thousand Fakyrs, as brave as themselves. Morteza-qhan, son to Mustepha-qhan, that famous General who had cut so great a figure in Bengal, served also in Nedjef-qhan's army at the head of five thousand men; and one could see in that camp most of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's descendants, all men of distinction, who tired with the inattention and vile behaviour of Assef-ed-dowlah, had fled from that court, and taken shelter in Nedjef-qhan's army, where they were promoted to commands, every one according to his merit and abilities. To insure the payment of all these

numerous troops, Nedjef-qhan divided his dominions and conquests into so many parts, the revenues of which were assigned to each Commander's management. With such an army, Nedjef-qhan was always in motion, constantly busy in making conquests upon Radja Dehi-sing-sevai, and Radja Dehi-radj-sevai, on one hand; and on the other, upon the Radjp8t Princes of Kedjvaha. He beat these Princes in several engagements, and made himself dreaded far and near, about the outskirts of the provinces of Shah-djehan-abad and Acber-abad. But although he was so successful in the field, he had enemies at Court; and these were Abd8l-ahed-qhan the Cashmirian, Prime Minister, and all the Grandees of that dastardly Court, who were all timorous and all cowardly, but who possessed so far the Emperor's ear, that he did just as they bid. All these, unable to bear Nedjef-qhan's influence and prosperity, were exciting Zabeta-qhan to a revolt. It was the same Zabeta-qhan, who after the death of Hafyz-rahmet and the ruin of his nation, had become the head of it, the Rohillahs and Afghans flocking to him from all parts, impressed with a sense of respect for his illustrious pedigree, and a warm admiration for his personal character. He is the same man who had been requested from Shudjah-ed-dowlah by Nedjef-qhan, and the same who had owed the highest obligations to that conqueror's partiality and patronage; but there was too much of the Afghan in him, not to set all those ties at nought on the most distant prospect. In a moment he forgot how highly he was indebted to Nedjef-qhan; and listening only to the suggestions of Abd8l-ahed-qhan and his confederates, all men as cowardly and as envious as that Minister, he parted from his friend and benefactor, and marched off at the head of his national troops, which were considerable.

Is abandoned by Zabeta-qhan and his Afghans.

Nedjef-qhan, amazed at his defection, thought his honor concerned in punishing it immediately. The two armies met. A bloody battle ensued, in which the two parties fought with the utmost bravery; and numbers of brave men fell on both sides, after exhibiting feats of valor and prowess. At last the zephyr of Divine assistance blowing directly over Nedjef-qhan's standards, unfurled their folds, and stretched them open on the gale of victory. A vast number of Rohillas were put to the sword, with very small loss to the victorious; and Zabeta-qhan with the

remains of his troops, which even now did not amount to less than thirty thousand men, fled to Ghöus-gur, and shut himself up in that fortress. From thence he wrote to the Principal rulers amongst the Sycs to request their assistance. He even concluded a treaty with them, by which he subscribed to such articles, and entered into such close connections with those people, that a report spread everywhere, as if he had forsaken the Musulmanism(71), and made himself a member of their community. Whilst he was connecting himself by such odious ties with these people, Nedjef-qhan was advancing upon him. That General, after giving some repose to his victorious troops, besieged him in Ghöus-gur. The Rohillas had fortified an intrenched camp under the walls of the fortress; and now sure of a retreat, they for a whole month together kept Nedjef-qhan at bay, sallying out every day to skirmish, and even coming several times to a general engagement. It is true that they were always beaten, but as true that they always made good their retreat within their intrenchments. By this time, however, their numbers were so thinned, that Zebeta-qhan thought proper to submit, and to propose terms. He received some officers for hostages, and went to visit Nedjef-qhan; but the latter having declined the proposals he had brought, the other asked leave to return, which being granted immediately, he returned to his camp. There he assembled his own Commanders as well as those of the Sycs that had just come to his assistance, and he informed them of

Beats Zabeta-qhan, and besieges him.

(71) The Sycs are Deists, in the strictest sense of the word, and of course, perfectly tolerant and harmless; although as soldiers, they are, like the Marhattas, merciless plunderers, and incessant skirmishers. The ceremony of the reception of a Proselyte consists in no more than these two articles: To put on a short dress, of a blue colour, from head to foot; and to let one's hair grow from head to foot, without ever cutting or clipping or shaving it. One day I got within one of their temples, invited thereto by the tingling of the cymbals. On appearing within the door, an old venerable man bid me leave my slippers, as none could enter, but bare-footed. This admonition I obeyed, and went into a hall covered with carpets, at the northern part of which, there were several cushions covered with a yellow veil, under which, I was told, lay Nanec-shah's Book, who is their Legislator. At the southern end of the hall, there were fifteen or twenty men, all in blue and with long beards, sitting, some armed and some not. At the eastern side, but very near to it, two old men with a small drum and a pair of cymbals, were singing some maxims of morality out of that Book, and this they did with a deal of enthusiasm and contortion. On getting within the hall, I saluted the company, which returned the salute, and returned it again when I came out.

his being resolved to perish rather than to submit. [illegible]tion having been received with applause, and with promises of standing by him with their lives, the next morning, he came out of his camp, preceded by his artillery and a body of men armed with such rockets and such other missiles as remained to him. Nedjef-qhan, on his side, glad to see them coming to a fair engagement, arranged his troops, and taking a body to which he trusted, he pushed before the rest, and charged the enemy, himself the foremost. This appearance intimidated the Rohillahs, who being valorously charged everywhere, lost their wonted courage and were mowed down by thousands; insomuch that this battle became similar to that famous one at Panip8t, where the Abdalies put an end to the Marhatta power, and destroyed their numerous army. Nedjef-qhan's soldiers, as much incensed as their master at the perfidy and ingratitude of the Afghans, followed them everywhere, resolved to make an end of the enemy. The engagement lasted, without interruption, the whole of that day. Nedjef-qhan killed several men with his own hand, and seemed to contend for the palm of personal prowess with his most forward Commanders. This day having put an end to the power of Zabeta-qhan, as well as to the courage of his new allies, the latter retired to their homes; and Zabeta-qhan took shelter in the fortress, with all those who had escaped by favour of the darkness. The next morning he sent to camp an humble message, in which he supplicated Nedjef-qhan's forgiveness; the latter granted it, but would treat no more, and commanded his attendance. Zabeta-qhan, having no other party left, put on an humble dress, and presenting himself before Nedjef-qhan in a supplicating posture, he obtained his pardon. Sending then for his people from the fortress, and for his family, he lived a long time in the conqueror's army, entirely unnoticed. In the sequel, he found means to betroth one of his daughters to Nedjef-c8ly-qhan, who had become Nedjef-qhan's adoptive son, and acted as his Lieut.-General; and this alliance having facilitated another, he likewise engaged Nedjef-qhan himself to accept his sister, by which means he came into favour again, and was complimented with the Fodjdary of Soharren-p8r-b8ria.

Gives him a bloody defeat.

And grants him a pardon.

All this while Abd8l-ahed-qhan was so far master of the Emperor's heart and mind, that he governed the household and

Abd8l-ahed-qhan's jealousy and schemes against Nedjef-qhan's growing power.

the Court with a single nod of his head; but his main business seemed to be to demolish Nedjef-qhan's power and influence. He was perpetually upon the watch to hurt him, like a serpent rolled upon itself; but the late victory entirely damped his ardour. As soon as he heard of this total defeat of Zabeta-qhan, a man on whose pride and prowess, as well as that of his national troops, he had so much relied for humbling Nedjef-qhan to dust, he concluded that it was preposterous in him to contend any more with so successful a rival. But, as at the same time this defeat of the Rohillahs had also greatly weakened the Sycs, their new allies, he resolved to avail himself of this event; and he concluded that the best party he could take would be to put himself, with the young Shahzadah, at the head of an army, with which he might, by marching up to Ser-hend, subdue a power that seemed to be already in distress; for he reckoned that after having brought them to terms of submission, he might join their forces to his victorious troops, and then fall at once upon his odious rival. This design having been approved by Shah-aalem, that Prince ordered his elder son, Djuvan-baqht, and his younger son, Ecber-shah, to join the Minister; and the latter was already encamped in the outskirts of the city, when he published, "That "whoever was a soldier, would find service in his camp, and "ought to come to his standard." The city being full of military men, who breathed nothing but war, his camp was soon filled with a mighty army; and as soon as it was known that there was a perfect concert between the Emperor and him, several Commanders who resided in the country, and some others who had a character, but were accustomed to live by war, came from far and near, and joined his troops; so that the encamped army received daily additions. The Emperor, at the same time, having laid his commands on Nedjef-qhan, the latter sent a body of his own troops to join the Imperial Prince; and by such a step, he gave the expedition an air of concert which in reality it had not. The Minister having by these means furnished himself with feathers and wings, pushed forwards; and in emulation of Nedjef-qhan's boldness he advanced beyond Serhend, where, instead of seeking the enemy, he commenced a negotiation with the principal of the Syc rulers; he made a muster of his power, and exhorted him to a timely

He designs to attack and subdue the Sycs.

submission, but all this while he had not minded the poet's advice:

"A wooden sword, engaging like one of steel,
"Is not likely to support the comparison."

The Syc observing that the Minister spent his time in negotiations, soon guessed the temper of the man he was to deal with, and breaking at once the conferences, he prepared to fall upon his enemy. Accordingly he attacked the next day. Some skirmishes took place, but nothing like a general engagement; and yet this was enough to damp Abd8l-ahed-qhan's spirits at once. Without having suffered any loss, or even any check, he took fright at the sight of unsheathed sabres; and his cowardly timorous nature informing him internally that he would never stand the brunt of a battle, he took the Shah-zadah with him and fled without once turning about to look behind on those numerous troops of his, where not a single man had yet moved a foot from his post. After this flight, the troops retired of course, and Nedjef-qhan's corps was amongst the first that retreated; but it was in so good order, that no one would choose to approach it. Some other Commanders followed, and retiring in good order, marched off unpursued. Numbers of the bravest of the other corps joining together, retired at a slow pace likewise; but numbers of others, after having through their own ill conduct, or the incapacity of their Chiefs, roamed about for sometime, dispersed at last, and were then set upon one after another by the enemies, who despoiled them of both arms and horses, as well as clothes. It was in such a dismal condition that they fled to their homes, and most of them to the capital, but not without undergoing a variety of hardships. Such a complete disgrace was enough to humble the Minister; but it served moreover to demolish him totally.

Is shamefully defeated by these Syes.

Nedjef-qhan thought of making his profit of it. He had all along stood still like a mark to be shot at by Abd8l-ahed-qhan and his party, and he had all along put up with the daily injuries he received from him. But thinking now that his concerns were blended with those of an incensed public that cried for vengeance, and concluding that there was no safety for him as well as for the public, but in the removal of that man from all power and influence, he supplicated the Emperor to remove that disturber

of the public repose from all his offices and employments, and to send him into condign confinement. The Emperor, who is a strange sort of a man indeed, and of a character that borders upon foolishness and imbecility, made haste to obey his General's mandate; and the latter without losing time, made haste to send a number of trusty officers to the Minister's house, where they seized and confined his person, and confiscated his whole fortune. Out of all that wealth, the General took nothing for himself but his Library, and his Pharmacy, and collection of drugs and fossiles, which really contained great curiosities; but he sent to the Emperor the money, furniture, and jewels—three articles that amounted to a great number of lacs. After this operation Nedjef-qhan sent several Commanders of his own, who repulsed the Sycs and drove them back to their homes; and these officers exhibited in other respects so much bravery and conduct, that the Sycs acknowledged Nedjef-qhan's superiority, and behaved submissively to him, although those mendicants turned soldiers, had been during all these troubles receiving such continual additions, that they now reckoned their numbers by lacs. Nedjef-qhan, having now confirmed his power by that act of authority, has seen his name become an object of dread and respect all over the provinces of Delhi and Acber-abad, where he lives with the utmost splendour and dignity. His character now commenced spreading abroad, and making impression even on the English, a nation acute, provident, and that sees deep into futurity; and he that had been left hitherto unnoticed and unminded, now received an Envoy from General Coote, who happened to be in that neighbourhood. This Envoy was Mr. Massac(72), who delivered a message full of complaints, mixed with some threats, in which he mentioned how much the English had hitherto borne and forborne. Nedjef-qhan returned a firm answer, and such as was calculated to impose silence, and to quash all further discussions. But many dangerous troubles having arisen at this very time in the south of India, a stop was put to all further discussions with that rising conqueror; otherwise, there is no doubt, but the disputes would have grown warmer between the two parties, and that the respective pretensions would have been

Is deprived of all his offices, and confined by Nedjef-qhan.

(72) Mr. Massac, being born in Aleppo, spoke good Arabic, and was become a proficient in the Persian, which is full of Arabic words, and even whole phrases.

supported by armies; so that it is highly probable, that Nedjef-qhan would have appeared in the field against the English. We must wait to see what may be the subsequent events, and in whose behalf the Divine protection shall be pleased to declare itself; what nation shall prevail by the superiority of its fortune in the contest, and on whose standards the gale of Divine Providence shall he pleased to blow.

"Let us wait till we see which of the two parties, the prevalence of fate
"Shall raise to the skies, or depress and crush for ever"

But as we have already mentioned succinctly, in the former volume, such authentic accounts of the affairs of Decan as had come to our knowledge, and have inserted them in the body of our history, it is not therefore out of its place that we should continue to impart to the reader such further creditable intelligence as is come to hand in the month of Shaaban and the beginning of the month of Ramazan, in the year 1195 of the Hedjra. According, then, to those accounts, General Goddard, after having taken the Fortress of Bessi(73), which is one of the strongest and most important fortresses under the Marhatta power, marched with intention to make himself master of P8nah, the Capital of that Empire, the centre of its power, and the residence of all the principal Grandees and rulers of that nation. This undertaking was opposed by several Marhatta Generals, who joining their forces together, advanced some stages from P8nah towards the salt-water(74), where they fought the English troops with a variety of successes, but in such a manner, however, that not a day passed without some severe action, in which the Generals on both sides exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities and courage, and vast numbers of brave men fell every day on both sides. At last a final engagement took place, in which General Goddard was defeated; but he had the abilities and presence of mind to assemble the few men that had escaped the slaughter (and these did not exceed two thousand men), and to make good his retreat towards the sea, abandoning his cannon and baggage; there he found ships ready, in which he embarked

The English wage war in Decan, against the Marhattas.

General Goddard defeated.

(73) Upon the Charts, Bassain.

(74) We have already observed that Deria, which strictly signifies the sea, is come to signify in the Persian used in India, a large body of water. The Ganges itself is called Deria. Hence the sea is become designed by the word Deria Shor, or salt-water; for the Hindostany word for sea, is Somoundur.

with his men, and reached Bombay. This is an island defended by a strong fortress of the same name, built long ago by the English, and replenished with every necessary for a long defence; there he remains actually waiting for reinforcements, and for an opportunity of re-commencing his operations. There is some report that he is gone to Bender-s8ret (Surat); but the truth of this God knows. What is come to our knowledge of late is this, that another English army, under the command of Colonel Camac, another Commander of great conduct and bravery, had penetrated into the province of Malva (where the English were already in possession of the famous Fortress of Goaliar), and had made themselves masters of a number of strong places, and a vast extent of country. But these conquests brought upon him a great army of Marhattas from Decan, who, by intercepting his convoys and forages, and by repeated engagements with his troops, as well as by reducing to straits his garrison and troops in Goaliar, so harassed that officer, that he was obliged to surrender that fortress to the Radja of Gohud, its owner, and, moreover, to evacuate all his other conquests; after which he retreated towards Calpy and Atava. That Commander arrived in that neighbourhood after a very fatiguing retreat, and took up his quarters there.

The Marhattas oblige Colonel Camac to a retreat.

The same reports mention that Haider-nãik continues to lord it all over the Carnatic; and that General Coote, who is a Member of the Supreme Council, and the Commander-in-Chief of all the English troops in India, having gone over to those parts with a body of troops by Governor Hushtins's commands, had been obliged to shut himself up in the Fortress of Mandradj from which he now and then came out and fought the enemy, just as opportunity served, and times could afford.

So many disasters having befallen every one of the armies which Governor Hushtins had sent throughout Hindostan and Decan, and the unprosperous state of the Company's affairs becoming truly alarming, he thought it incumbent on him to provide betimes for the safety of the provinces entrusted to his care, which were Bengal, Azim-abad, A8d, and Ilah-abad. It was with that view he commenced some connections with Nedjet-qhan and Shah-aalem, as well as with some other Princes that figured in Hindostan. To all those he sent envoys, with

letters and messages fraught with sentiments of friendship and amity, his intention being to gain them over to the English interest, lest the Marhattas, availing themselves of the misfortunes of his nation, should think of penetrating into their richest provinces, and spread ruin and devastation everywhere. He, at the same time, intended to obtain from the wealthy men who had enriched themselves in the affairs of the Government, a mighty sum of money by way of contribution, as he wished to keep it in reserve for unforeseen emergencies. These letters and proffers had such an effect on Nedjef-qhan, as proved the very reverse of what was intended. The style of the messages that had heretofore passed between that conqueror and General Coote, had rendered the former so suspicious against the designs of the English, that it is probable he would have entered into a treaty with the Marhattas, as he was apprehensive lest some connections might come to take place between that nation and the English against his interest: not that he had any certain intelligence of such a design, for he only suspected it; as the English are a race of men who are keen-sighted and full of policy and secrecy, but none so much as the Governor himself, whose breast is a casket full of inaccessible secrets, and a repository of impenetrable views and projects. Who is the man that can make him speak against his mind? And who is that one who could guess from his features, or from his air, or from his words, at any of those secrets locked up in that inaccessible breast? It is out of any man's power; it is utterly impossible. The Governor, naturally impenetrable, and who had views which none but himself could know, set out from Calcutta in the month of Redjeb, of the year 1195 of the Hedjra, and travelled towards Lucnow. He had in his company a number of men of merit, whom he knew, and whom he had selected for that purpose. One of these was Mr. Anderson. Amongst the Hindostanees was Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, a nobleman whose valuable qualifications we have just hinted with many an honourable mention in our former volumes, and who being neglected by the jealous and unattentive administration of the great ones at Moorshoodabad, lived at his own house in obscurity and retirement. The Governor, who is a connoisseur of the first rate, and who knew him personally, invited him to be of his company, where he

Admirable character of Governor Hushtins.

He makes a progress into Hindostan.

always received him with the utmost distinction. The Governor travelled with all his household and retinue, and with so much pomp and so many commodities, that he had about four hundred boats in his retinue. He arrived in Shaaban, at Azim-abad, from whence, after a short stay, he went forwards. It was the twenty-third of that month when he arrived at Benares, and the report is that he will make but a short stay there, his views being chiefly turned towards Lucnow, and that city being the place where he intends to unfold them. Before his departure from Calcutta he had received certain intelligence from Europe, that war had been declared to the Hollanders, and he had been enjoined to seize on their forts and factories all over India. These orders were executed in Bengal with a great deal of ease. A fortress of theirs, close to the Bacshy-bunder at Hooghly(75), where the Hollanders had their principal settlement, and which was defended by a small garrison, and a number of guns, not less than thirty or forty, under the command of a man of consequence, fell in the hands of the English, without any attack or dispute; and the whole property of the Hollanders(76) became a prize for the conqueror. Several factories which that nation had in various places of Bengal, and every one of which was inhabited by three or four Hollanders, busy with the concerns of their Company, were taken possession of in the same quiet manner. They had a factory at Azim-abad, a house of great beauty and vast extent(77); nor was it even quite destitute of strength, being furnished with cannon and men. This also fell in the hands of the English, without the least defence or opposition. Mr. Macs8l (Maxwell), Chief of Azim-abad, and Major Hardy, who commanded the garrison, did not meet with the

The Hollanders dispossessed by the English in Bengal.

(75) It is only a fort with a fosse, in the middle of a rich town, called Chichira, close to the Bacshy-bunder or custom-house of Hooghly.

(76) This is an oriental oversight. It was not the property of the Hollanders which the English seized, as says the author, but the public property of the Company. On the contrary, private property was so much respected by the English, that the natives were amazed to see the prisoners of war inviting and invited at entertainments and balls. Such manners intirely militated against their notions of the rights of war, or rather their notions of warfare in India.

(77) What they call a Factory in India, is no less than a fortified Palace, where lives a Chief that equals several Princes of Germany by his table and expense, and by much surpasses them in pomp and attendance, whenever he appears in public.

least difficulty in putting in execution the Governor's order, and in seizing the factories and settlements of that nation all over the province of Bahar. The reason of all this ease and submission is, that the English having from longhand expected such a rupture, had not allowed the Hollanders to fortify themselves in such a manner in Bengal, as should render a military force necessary to subdue and expel them.

The dissensions between the two nations arose from this event: The King of the English maintained these five or six years past, a contest with the people of America, (a word that signifies a New World), on account of the Company's concerns. By the word Company is understood an assembly of thirty or forty of the richest or most creditable men of the country of Inghilter, who joining their funds together obtain the privilege to trade into which climate soever they may choose out of the seven. Such a body, if even consisting of so few as thirty or forty of such creditable men, is called a Company; but there may be three or four hundred of such men in the Company we mean, which hold a rank and pre-eminence amongst all the merchants of that land. Nor does the King order anything about their concerns without consulting them first; for whatever he intends to do, he consults the Omrahs or Lords of his Court; and when the matter has been agreed amongst them, it is then proposed to the Council of the nation, which is composed of the principal merchants above, and of a number of other creditable and sensible men chosen, two by two, by each of the principal towns, cities, and counties of Inghilter. All these men have their charges borne by the senders, and from that moment they become their Deputies and Attorneys. All these assemble in London (which is the name of the Capital of the English Empire), and there they examine such proposals as are made them by the King and the Lords, whether about raising taxes, or about any other object of public concern. Such proposals are consented to by these Attorneys above, if after a thorough examination, they find them advantageous and convenient to those that have sent them; for it is in their power to reject them, and if they do reject them once, they are rejected by the whole nation likewise. Sometimes the Attorneys examine a scheme amongst themselves, and if they find it proper and profitable to all the inhabitants of

The cause of the war with the Hollanders assigned on the broils happened between the English and the people of Yenghidunia *alias* America.

that land, they desire the concurrence of the King and of his Lords, request the proposal to be signed, and they become his associates in promoting its views; for from that moment it becomes obligatory on all the inhabitants of that land, and on all the dependants of that kingdom. Sometimes they disapprove of a proposal, and upon examination, they reject it, as disadvantageous to the nation, or as pregnant with mischief; and in that case, it falls into as much neglect, as if no such proposal had ever been made; nor dares the King pretend to go forwards with it, or to carry it in execution, when once it has been disapproved and rejected by them.

As to the men of America, the country designed both by the words of a Newfoundland, and also by those of Yenghi-Dunia(78), that is New World, they are themselves of English extraction and of English blood: they are the sons and children of the English. It must be observed that the astronomers and geographers of that nation, after many researches and observations, have found out a great number of differences between their remarks and the opinions of the ancients. Amongst these differences, the principal one is this, that the circumference and figure of the land and water in our globe are not as they were thought heretofore. They say that the latter seems to encompass the former as a girdle, and they add, that in the same manner as a portion of ground has emerged out of the waters on our side, and is become dry and habitable in seven several climates; in like manner another portion has risen opposite to it, and is become habitable by mankind. Whence it might happen, that the feet of the inhabitants of the two portions would meet sole to sole, were the earth to be withdrawn from between, whilst their heads would continue to look towards heaven. To conclude, it may be said that the two portions or hemispheres seem inclined towards each other, and although the extent of the other hemisphere has not been totally explored, yet it is conjectured that should the whole earth be divided into five parts, three parts of it would fall to the lot of the old hemisphere, already divided into seven climates, and the two others, with a fraction, would constitute the other, or new hemisphere. This new hemisphere is humid and cold, and also humid and hot; but

(78) These words, which are Turkish, signify New World.

the whole of it has not been yet explored and examined. They bring from thence a variety of medicinal drugs, and a variety of fine woods, fit for chests and furniture ; and they say that most parts of its soil produce mines of gold and silver. The discovery of so great a part of our globe is intirely owing to the following chance :—

About four hundred years ago, a ship, beaten by a storm, was thrown upon those coasts, and by chance discovered that land. It was in the year when the Portuguese ships (so called from Portugal, their kingdom) came by chance into India. Those strangers having seen the country and taken a liking to it, formed settlements in that region, and in process of time they became so powerful that they could not be expelled but in the victorious reign of Shah-Djehan, when they lost all their possessions in India ; nor have their descendants in that region recovered from that overthrow. Those of them that have remained in H8ghly and Mandradj (Mandrast), as well as elsewhere, have so far degenerated as to have their skins quite black, or at least very swarthy ; whilst some of them that retain still an appearance of whiteness, employ themselves in handicrafts. To-day we see that most of them addict themselves to writing, and are employed as writers by the English, but without being made any account of by the latter, who reckon them to be no better than so many Indians. But it is not so in their own country in Europe. There they are considered as a Power, and have armies and fleets, and a King of their own. To return then to our account of America. As soon as the storm-beaten ship had recovered its harbour, after having just had a peep at the new land, it was found that several of her men had learned the way of repairing thither ; and a very sensible Chief amongst them, having obtained access to a woman of the Royal race, he, by her assistance, fitted three or four ships, and having attached to his undertaking some of the ablest men amongst those that had seen the new land, he made a voyage thither and stayed a long time in it, on purpose to examine its productions, and even to gain some of its inhabitants, with whom he contracted a friendship first by signs, and then, by acquiring some knowledge of their language. He even ventured, under their guidance, to advance some miles from the shore. In his stay in that country, he took the latitude and

longitude of those shores, as well as their situation with regard to the elevation of the pole, so as to form something like a chart. He also examined the passes and defiles, and likewise the rising and setting of the sun. After providing himself with all this stock of knowledge, he returned home. The next year he came back with a number of ships full of warlike stores, and all the necessaries for making a settlement; and he made one accordingly, in which he settled himself with a small number of the principal men he had brought with him. The year following, another swarm of men, hearing of his successes, came and settled in his neighbourhood. It was sometime after, that the English, who hearing of this discovery, and being an enterprising nation, conceived the design of visiting that new land; and they repaired thither in crowds. There they cultivated the ground, raised buildings, built towns and cities, and made them their homes from thenceforward for ever; rearing their children in that land, and accustoming themselves so much to their new habitations, that most of them renounced their original country, and refused to return thither. But all this, however, was without departing from their submission to their King, and without ceasing to be obedient to his commands, and to such of his servants, as had remained in Inghilter and in London, their original land. They paid such tributes as had been established after the English pattern, and matters remained on that footing, until the Yenghi-d8nians (Americans) having increased so greatly in population, that their numbers were now reckoned by lacs and lacs, the King, by the advice of his Ministers and principal men, imposed upon them a new sum of money, over and above that which they had been accustomed to pay. This happened about six or seven years ago. The Yenghi-d8nians displeased with the new imposition, refused to obey the King's commands; and the latter having ordered his Governors and officers, then in that land, to enforce obedience to his edicts, the inhabitants joined together in opposing those officers; and having seized most of them, they revolted from their authority, and set up for themselves, spreading full open the standard of rebellion and defiance, and preparing every thing for a vigorous defence. As these people are of the same blood with the English, and, of course, equal to them in military talents, in courage, and in every thing that pertains to war; and

they were as much skilled as themselves in the art of managing their flint-locks and their artillery; and as over and above those advantages they had had plenty of necessaries, they made no difficulty of encountering the King's troops and Generals, to which they gave several defeats, so as at last to destroy or ruin his army. The king sent other Generals and other forces, furnished with an immense quantity of stores and necessaries; nor did the Americans decline the contest; and they came into the field with what warlike stores they had at hand. But as these began to run short, they applied to the Fransisians (or French), for a supply of necessary stores, and for some other succours. The latter who have an enmity of some hundred years' standing against the English of Europe, and were glad of a dissension that weakened their hereditary foes, did not fail to assist their new allies with every thing they wanted; but as they had a treaty of peace with the English, the term of which was not yet expired, they were obliged meanwhile to act secretly in the assistance they gave the Americans, which however proved so effectual, as to consist of every succour that could be wished for. The English apprised of this artifice, concluded that an open war was better than a deceitful peace, and accordingly they attacked the French likewise; so that it is now the second or third year since they waged war with them. But, meanwhile, the inhabitants of the new land having stretched their nerves, and made mighty efforts, gave at last a total defeat to the fresh troops and Generals that had been sent against them by the King. Such an unprosperous war, which had cost already more than thirty or forty thousand men, and above twenty corores of rupees(79), struck the King's Ministers with fear and amazement; the more so, as over and above the war with their own kinsmen, the men of the new land, and that with the French, which now raged with fury, they had to oppose also a new enemy; and this was the Espan-yols, who are a different nation from those already mentioned, and have a King and a kingdom of their own. These Espan-yols are a very western nation, always at war with the Roman Emperors(80), since the latter

The Americans revolt and beat the English.

They are assisted by the French.

The Spaniards join the French.

(79) Twenty-five millions Sterling.

(80) Natoly, or rather Anatoly, is likewise called Rom or Room by the Turks, who possess that country; and it was called so by the eastern nations, because it

took from them the city of Ashtanbol about five hundred years ago, in which time they have not ceased to wage war with the R8mees (Romans): this nation also got up to assist the French and Americans, and to assault the English. In short, the Hollanders likewise came to be involved in this war against the English, whose prevalent power they feared, and whose conquests in Hindostan they had beheld with the utmost jealousy. As these people are addicted to a pacific system, they abstain from dissensions and disputes with other nations; and both on that account, and on account of the benefits of the trade they drove with the combatants above, they were averse from engaging in a war with any of them; but as they traded in every article whatever, and of course imported into America immense quantities of musquets, cannon, balls, and all kinds of warlike stores, and they seemed warmly engaged in that business, the English displeased with this artificious behaviour, thought it better to come to an open war with them. Time alone will point out what may be the final intention of Providence in this diversity of concerns and interests; and time alone will discover what it has ultimately predestined on those obstruse points; *for God Almighty is the disposar of all events!* (81) But it is now time to take our leave of this subject, and to return to Hindostan; for as we have set out with this history by mentioning the Emperor Aoreng-zib's demise, and we are now going to close our last volume, the curious will not be displeased with hearing, at the end of our history, some singular and interesting accounts of that very long reign.

The Author quits the American war to launch into the latter part of the Emperor Aoreng-zib's history.

We did not intend at first to meddle with the strange events of Shah-aalem's reign, who is now the reigning Emperor of Hindostan; but as we have been drawn insensibly into such

was the only part of the Roman Empire they were acquainted with. The Turkish Emperors having succeeded to the Roman Emperors, are called Roman Emperors all over the East, as is their country called Rome or R8m, and their people, Romis, or R8mis, or Romans. Ishtanbol is a corruption of Istanbol, the Turkish name for Constantinople, which last is itself a corruption of the three Greek words *Is Tin polin*. For the Greeks to this day, as well as those of an older date, never design Constantinople by any other appellation than that of *Polis*, the city. But in all Turkish books of an older date than a hundred years, Constantinople bears the name of Constantinyah.

(81) A sentence of the Coran.

a narrative by the very tenor of our history, we have thought it expedient to close our discourse by some account of the singular character and very extraordinary actions of his venerable grandfather, Aoreng-zib the Conqueror, who may be considered as the founder and author of the reigning branch that now sits on the throne of Hindostan; not that there is the least resemblance between them, or that Aaly-goher can pretend to the good character of his father, or to the high character of his grandfather; or that there is the least equality betwixt the real pearl and its shell, or betwixt real coin and a quantity of couries (82); but, as the bezoar is found with the snake, and the thorns grow with the rose, we, in compliance with the celestial oracle, *Every thing returns to its original element,* have thought proper to join together the history of Aoreng-zib with that of Shah-aalem, both being very strange characters, although in a different style. They are both extraordinary and surprising mortals, but of a strangeness relative to the time in which each of them did live. Aoreng-zib, who with a warlike turn of mind and much personal valor, was always shrewd, and, in general, moderate and prudent in his conduct, is nevertheless found to have committed such strange unaccountable actions, that Shah-aalem himself, with all his proficiency in such strangeness of conduct, seems to be but an undermatch to him, and one quite unequal to the honour of being counted amongst his disciples. In the cause and singularity of their actions, there is some difference, likewise, as their circumstances and power are so very desperate; but in the bizarery of their conduct they are upon a par; and of this the reader shall easily judge by himself, when he comes to peruse what we have to say of Aoreng-zib, and we shall have mentioned the expedition to Häider-abad and the conquest of that kingdom, as they have been handed down with a deal of liberty by Naamet-aali-qhan-qhâfi The reader will then draw conclusions for himself, by judging of a whole by some samples, and of a heap by our handful.

(82) There are two kinds of Couries, or Ca8ries, in Bengal; one harder, that comes from the Maldivas, and in which the revenues of Government are paid in Oressa or Catec, so that hundreds of women are pressed at a time, to count a sum of ten thousand Rupees; and one sort softer, that comes from Mosambic and Mombasa, in Africa, and 5,200 of these go for a Rupee in Bengal, where they serve or small coin.

And first it will be proper to keep present in one's mind, that whoever has received his dismission from the borrowed hospice of this fragile world, has no resource, but must comply with the order, and prepare himself for his last voyage, by packing up what he is to carry with him, and of course by throwing away and abandoning all that he had been amassing and hoarding up in his life-time. Now his actions and works are the only things that can stick to him, and the only ones he must carry to the other world. If then his actions prove to have been good, he will now reap the benefit of them, and his name will remain behind to be for ever remembered with gratitude by mankind; otherwise, it will be an object of detestation; and in this predicament the vanquished, no less than the victor, stands upon a par, and upon a par stands the distressed poor man, as well as the renowned Prince. There have been in past times persons of both descriptions, of which due mention has been made in these sheets. But gone are they and past; nor can we find any trace left of the good ones, nor any certain footsteps of the bad ones, save the names. The names only of these two species of beings remain behind, and are mentioned by the living as they seem to have deserved. Every one of them receives now a full retribution for what he may have done; and being remembered with pleasure or with imprecation, he serves as an example to excite, or as a warning to deter, living men, by the remembrance of the departed ones; and as these last are daily mentioned by the living ones, these likewise will one day furnish a matter of talk to their descendants, and will be judged by their actions and works. It is for such a reason, and with such a view, that I have brought together about the end of these sheets, some parts of Aoreng-zib's life, a Prince who under the veil of piety and of an austere virtue, knew how to conceal all the vices of a boundless covetousness, and an insatiable ambition. Nor are these particulars unauthenticated(83). They have been made up out of what has been transmitted to posterity by the Kings, Generals, Grandees, and other eminent

(83) This unexpected sortie upon Aoreng-zib must not surprise the reader. The author was a Shyah and a bigoted fanatical one. The Emperor was a zealous Sunni, and moreover one that had put an end to two Shyah kingdoms, and to two Shyah Dynasties.

persons, who lived with him on a friendly footing, or were in distinguished stations in his service. The sayings, as well as the memoirs of those illustrious well-informed personages constitute what may be called Aoreng-zib's history; and they are recorded in that valuable book, written by Mohammed-hashem-qhan, whose father had been a long time in the service of M8rad-baqsh, brother to that Emperor, and who, after that Prince's defeat and total ruin, was taken into the service by Aoreng-zib himself, and in a little time became an object of the highest favour with that discerning Prince; so that whatever he records is in the greatest part from his own personal knowledge. Nor does his work furnish any handle for suspicion; nor does it appear susceptible of imposition or calumny. It looks to all intents and purposes like an entertainment spread for the ears of the attentive and curious, by the hands of a plain honest steward, who makes it a point to omit no virtue and no laudable action that may serve for an example, nor to conceal any vice, or blamable behaviour that may serve for a warning to these numerous caravans of travellers that are perpetually pouring in and hurrying out of the borrowed hospice of this world.

Aoreng-zib's charater.

Aoreng-zib, after his victory over his brother, Dara-shecoh, seized on his own father, Shah-djehan, that second Lord of the conjuction(84), and sent him into a grievous confinement, where the unfortunate Monarch remained full eight years; nor was he released but by the Angel of death, which at the same time released his soul from the prison of his body. In vain did his beloved daughter(85) implore at his death bed, his forgiveness

(84) Conjuntion of the two planets of Jupiter and Venus, which they suppose to produce power and honours to those born under their influence. Timur, or Tamer-lang, his great ancestor, was the first Lord of the conjunction; and it is for that reason he bears upon his coins the title of *Sahab-Kyran*.

(85) That Princess (Roshen-ara-begum *id. est.* Princess Roxana*) whose poetical talents, witty repartees, and surpassing beauty, were then, as they are even to-day, the matter of so many songs, constantly refused to submit to wedlock; and she chose to shut herself up with her father, upon whose heart, it is universally reported and believed, her person had made the deepest impression. It appears by many miniatures, executed by the best masters of those times, that she had a fair complexion, with the most sweet features imaginable, and a fine head of glossy black hair, that flowed in long ringlets over her shoulders, exactly like those seen

* Luminous, or beautiful.

for her brother, Aoreng-zib; the incensed parent constantly refused it, and he departed with sentiments of indignation and resentment. Nor did he use his elder brother, Dara-shecoh, with more tenderness; and as to his younger brother, Morad-baqhsh, who had been so instrumental in that victory, the only return he made him, was endeavouring by every means in his power to circumvent that unsuspecting youth. The unfortunate Prince, upon his invitation, had set out from Gudjerat, his Government, at the head of his troops, and had rendered him considerable services in the battle against Maha-radja Djesvent-Rat-hor, and then in that which ruined Dara-shecoh in the plains of Udjĕin, in both which he fought like a common trooper, and received several wounds that had set his military character in the strongest light. But all these merits did not avail. The artful Aoreng-zib kept this simple young man in good humour, by ordering his officers to present him with their nuzurs for his victory, and by making him believe that their master's whole ambition being to spend his days in the two Holy Cities(86), he would of course leave the Empire to his disposal. The young Prince, who had a deal of frankness in his temper, and no less simplicity in his turn of mind, yielded so much belief to his protestations, that he used to frequent his artful brother without the least suspicion. To no purpose did several of his faithful servants advise him to be more cautious, and to beware of his brother; for all answer they received a reprimand; nor could he be brought to believe that so many promises and so many protestations, with such an appearance of humility and abstinence, would end in artifice and perfidy. He soon had, however, a full opportunity of being thoroughly convinced at last; and whilst he was in pursuit of Dara shecoh, Aoreng-zib got him seized and confined in the Fortress of G8aliar; where on hearing that he had found friends in the place, and had attempted to effect his

His hardness of heart to his father and brothers.

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is the portrait of the famous Ninon-L' Enclos, made in 1660; and not unlike the manner of wearing the hair amongst the European Ladies (now in 1786), but more gracious and pleasing. Her father, who conserved strong virile powers at the age of sixty-five, is represented with a beautiful long oval face, and a white short beard, but always with long black whiskers, a particularity that stuck to him all his life and accompanied his person to the grave.

(86) The Holy Cities are Mecca, the glorious, where is the Caaba, and Medina, the illuminated, where is the Prophet's tomb, at ten days north of Mecca.

escape, he, without the least scruple, resolved to put him to death. For this purpose he made choice of one of his dependants, whom he engaged to revenge thereby the death of his own father, who had been put to death by M8rad-baqsh, on suspicion that he intended to join Dara-shecoh, against whom he was then marching from Gudjrat; he even proposed that murder to him as a religious duty, to which he was obliged by the Tallion law. Such was the usage he offered to one who was his confederate and his brother. As to Dara-shecoh, his other brother, who had been overtaken in his flight, he was first carried in chains throughout the whole city of Shah-djehan-abad; and the next day, under pretence of his being an heretic of the sect of the Mystics, he was put to death, and his body being thrown upon an elephant, underwent a second voyage throughout the same circuit of old Delhi and Shah-djehan-abad, as if to feed with this hideous spectacle the eyes of those that had seen him alive two days before. This unfortunate Prince, after losing that great battle at Adjmir by the perfidy and management of Radja Djesvent-rathor, conceived that although fortune had been unfavourable to him, she had not yet turned her back; and with this hope he fled towards Gudjrat. He had with him his consort and little daughter, with a small retinue of friends and attendants. The voyage proved tedious and full of dangers; and it is incredible how many hardships and dangers this illustrious and unfortunate troop was obliged to undergo, before it could reach the environs of Ahmed-abad(87). Sëyd-ahmed, the Vice-roy of the Province, wanted to go out, and to meet his Lord, a Prince to whom he owed his fortune and his present station; but his intention was opposed by the garrison and by all the Crown-officers, who dreading Aoreng-zib's resentment, seized on their Governor, put him in confinement, and shut up their gates. The fugitive Prince in despair went to Candj8r (a certain Chieftain of C8lies, a clan whose professed business is to rob and plunder on the highway and in villages), and implored his assistance. The man not content with having entertained and assisted the Prince with every thing which his means could afford, and with having personally served and

Affecting narrative of Prince Dara-shecoh's flight and adventures.

(87) Ahmed-abad, the Amadavat of the charts, is the same as Gudjrat, the Capital of a great Province of that name.

attended him with the humble deportment of a servant, gave him a strong escort of his banditties, who had orders to see him safe in the territory of Ketch, a Port that looks towards the frontiers of Iran. Here he seemed to have seen a ray of hope. The Prince was hardly arrived in that territory, when he was unexpectedly joined by a body of fifty horse and two hundred foot, which were brought by a faithful servant of his, one G8l-mahmed, an Officer of rank, who abandoning his Government of S8ret-bunder, took with him as much money as he could muster; and sacrificing his own safety, as well as his fortune and employment, to his attachment for this Prince, he came with that timely succour, and effected his junction with his old master, at a moment when every one was turning his back upon him. For the Prince, on the other hand, had been totally disappointed in the great hopes he had conceived from the Zemindar of Ketch, a powerful Lord, who in his days of prosperity, had sought his favour by betrothing his daughter to Sepehr-shecoh(88), son to the fugitive Prince; the man was intirely altered now, and gave him a flat refusal on that subject. The Prince, obliged to quit his territory, was obliged to advance by Bacar, a country on the bank of the Send(89). There the Chandies, another clan of semi-barbarians who inhabit those parts and live under tents, assembled together with intention to seize on him, and to plunder his baggage; nor was it without all the pains imaginable that G8l-mahmed with his small force found means to rescue him from their hands, and to carry him safe to the frontiers of the Mecsies, another semi-barbarous people, living also in tents. But here he was received with the greatest respect by Mirza-mecsi, who was the Chief of that clan. This Chieftain came upon the road, assisted him with money and other necessaries, shewed him every demonstration of respect, and took such a concern in his welfare, that he proposed his taking refuge in Iran or Persia, in which case he offered to serve as guide to the Prince and to escort him as far as Candahar; he was even

(88) Sepehr-shecoh signifies as pompous as the firmament or as the sun. Dara-shecoh, as pompous as Dara or Darius. M8rad-baqsh (very often now the name of a dance-girl) signifies the grantor of wishes; the completion of desires. Aoreng-zib, the ornament of the throne.

(89) *Alias Indus; alias Atec*

very urgent on the necessity of taking such a party. But the Prince, under the actual influence of his adverse fortune, did not listen to his advice. He seemed to be the man pointed out by the Poet in these verses :—

"When fortune turns her back on a brave man,
"He never fails to do precisely what he ought not to have done."

The Prince in compliance with the advice of some zealous, indeed, but short-sighted and unexperienced friends, resolved to seek an asylum in the territory of Melec-djiven, a powerful Zemindar of those parts, who owed him the highest obligations. This Zemindar or Prince had been many years ago condemned by Shah-djehan for some crime to be made fast to the foot of an elephant; and the sentence was going to be executed, when the Prince obtained his grace from his father, and thereby restored him to life. This Afghan, hearing of the Prince's distress, intreated him by letters, couched in the most respectful style, to come and repose himself in the territories of a man who was his grateful devoted servant; and the Prince, who judged of that man's feelings by his own heart, took that road, in hopes that with so powerful an assistance he might possibly retrieve his affairs. Good God, what a fatal mistake!—That infamous, ungrateful, unfeeling wretch was all this while endeavouring to bring the Prince within his power, with a firm intention to ingratiate himself for ever with Aoreng-zib by unexpectedly complimenting him with such a present, that is, with the person and life of a benefactor, to whom he owed no less than his own life. The infernal Afghan, having set out with such a design in his accursed breast, met the Prince on the road; and with all the artifice and all the hypocrisy so conspicuous in the devil, his prototype, he brought him to his palace, where he seemed so intent on serving him, that he lulled his mind into a thorough security. Unfortunately for the Prince, it happened that his consort, worn down by the fatigues and other hardships of so precipitate a flight, as well as overcome by her grief and sorrow, fell into an ill habit of body, which rest might have cured, but which continual grief and endless fatigue had rendered mortal; and she expired in a few days in the arms of a beloved husband, whom her sex forbade her to follow, but whose parting her tender heart could never bear. A most affectionate attachment had

at all times subsisted between this unfortunate couple; and this unexpected stroke overwhelmed the disconsolate Prince under the load of some mountains of grief and woe. His mind, fatigued by his adverse fortune, had seemed to flag even before this; but now he fell prostrated, and seemed to have lost his senses. Thinking himself in perfect safety with Melec-djiven, he parted with G8l-mahmed, that brave soldier, who had prodigued his blood and fortune for him, and had come to his assistance from so far, at a time when he was alone and past all assistance; he joined to him the eunuch Maac8l, a brave zealous servant, who had already shed his blood in his defence; and he ordered those invaluable friends to take their best men with them, and to carry the coffin of the Princess to Lahor, where she was to be entombed in the Mausoleum of Mollahmir Bedaqhshani(90), who had been the Princess's patron Saint. Nor were they to return, but after having acquitted themselves of that office. On the departure of those two invaluable men, the Prince remained alone in his enemy's house, with only some eunuchs, some menial servants, and a number of such useless impotent people. But hardly were those two men gone, when a smell of treason spread all over the house of that abominable Afghan, and at last affected the olfactory nerves of the Prince's understanding. His confidence turned into fear and dismay; he repented of his having trusted that infernal man; and without saying a word of his discovery, he expressed a desire of going to Candahar. The man so far from disapproving the design, offered to escort him in the voyage; and having accompanied him to the next stage, he requested his permission to return in order to provide some necessaries, leaving at the same time with the Prince, a brother of his, at the head of a strong body; and this brother had orders to arrest him and to bring him back. The brother, having suffered the Prince to advance two or three cosses more, at once arrested all his retinue, disarmed those defenceless people, and having laid his infamous hands upon the Prince and his little daughter, he had the heart to carry them back, together with the women attached to his person, and all that disconsolate impotent

(90) Bedaqhshan is the name of a country of the Euzbeg-tartary, full of mines, and mountains; it is from thence the world receives the Spinel Rubees. Its Capital bears the same name.

multitude that composed his retinue. All these he delivered to that accursed man, who had long ago conceived the design of arresting his benefactor, and killing his guest. He lodged the Prince and his forlorn family in a separate apartment, set a guard over them, and sent notice of what he had done to his two next neighbours, Radja Djehi-sing and Bahadyr-qhan, who both were in pursuit of the fugitive Prince. He at the same time informed Bakyr-qhan, Fodjdar of the country, of what he had done. The Fodjdar that very moment transmitted the letter to Court with a supplique of his own, and there came some moments after two suppliques more to the same effect, from both Djehi-sing and Bahadyr-qhan. Aureng-zib on receiving these letters expressed his satisfaction, and ordered the military music to strike up, whilst his whole Court, with one voice, loaded Melec-djivan with curses, reproaches, and imprecations.

That Emperor, so zealous for the honor of religion, so full of piety and meekness, that brother so grateful for the important services rendered him by a brother, now in the abyss of distress, immediately dispatched a dromedery courier, with a qhylaat for the perfidious Afghan, changed his name into that of Baqht-yar-qhan (91), presented him with the command of two hundred horse, and the grade of a thousand, and directed Bahadyr-qhan to bring his prisoner to Court. The forlorn Prince being brought close to the Capital, an order came to put an iron collar round his neck, with cuffs and chains on his hands and feet, and to carry him in procession from the Lahor-gate to the Chandni-chock (market or square), so as to pass by two of the gates of the citadel; from whence he was to proceed along the streets and markets, to Saad-ollah-qhan's Square; after which he was to be carried to the Qhavvass-p8ra, in old Delhi; there to be confined in the apartment called Qhyzyr-abad. Meanwhile the officer, Bahadyr-qhan, was introduced to the presence, where he was received with much distinction, and loaded with favours. The next day that infernal Melec-djiven, now Baqht-yar-qhan, was to come to Court. That abominable wretch having been hardy enough to make his appearance in broad day-light, was no sooner descried in his way to the citadel, as he

(91) These words signify the *Lord Companion of my Good Fortune*; *befriending my Good Fortune*; and also the *Lord befriended by Fortune*.

was crossing the Chandni-chock, than he and his Afghans were loaded with curses and execrations by some of Dara-shecoh's slave-boys, who being immediately joined by a number of shop-keepers, and all the idlers that thronged the streets, the Afghans were assaulted with baskets full of dung and dirt, with clods of earth, and with brick-bats and stones; and the attack was made with so much fury, that numbers of them were killed on the spot. Nor could the traitor have escaped himself, had not the Cutval, or Police officer, run to his assistance at the head of a detachment of the Imperial Guards, who rescued him alive from the hands of that enraged multitude; for now the people standing at their doors or upon their terraces, loaded the Afghans with execrations; and proceeding from words to blows, a general sedition was insensibly rising, when the Cutval and the guards making their appearance, put an end to the tumult. The people dispersed, and the Cutval carried the Afghan safe to the citadel.

Upon inquiry it was found that the tumult had arisen from some of Dara-shecoh's slave-boys, and from some of the Ahedian guards; and these the religious Emperor, scrupulously attached to the forms of law, would not order to be put to the sword. He only applied to the Mufties and the ecclesiastical doctors, from whom he asked what the law decreed against such seditious insolent people? And the doctors answered. "*That as the commission of a little evil for the attainment* "*of a mighty good was lawful in some cases, and expedient in* "*others, there might be no harm in putting to death people convict-* "*ed of having opposed the Qhalif's*(92) *intention, or resisted his* "*commands.*" After this sentence those unfortunate people, who so far from having acted by premeditated malice, had only given way to the violence of their feelings, were all seized and executed with all the forms of law. Some days after this execution, he assembled all the doctors, and in frequent assembly produced a certain literary performance of Dara-shecoh's, where the latter seemed to inculcate the precepts of Quietisme, and Mysticisme, and openly to give his approbation, and even preference to some tenets of the Gentoo-law. The performance being

(92) The Emperors of Hindostan ar , as well as the Turkish Monarchs, reputed Qhalifs, or successors to Mahomet; and both the one and the other assumed that title in their Coins and their Diplomas.

unanimously acknowledged to be his(93); and he being also acknowledged to have pronounced these verses that highly reflected on the Musulmanisme, and strongly favored of infidelity;—

" Both believers and unbelievers seek God in their homages;
" And both say in their respective languages, there is no God, but God;
" and that He has no companion."(94)

" he was adjudged to have stretched his feet out of the paling of "the faith and religion, and to have displayed the standard of "heresy, for which crime he might be punished with death; "some even voted that it was meritorious to put him to death." This answer having been re-examined by those scrupulously religious doctors, was confirmed by their signatures and seals; and the unfortunate Prince was made an example of, to terrify the pretenders to the Crown. This event happened in the month of Zilhidj, that month of rejoicing for the Musulman people, and in the year 1069, of the Hedjrah(95). His body that had been alive but a few days ago, was now seen lifeless, stretched upon an elephant, and carried in procession, through the same streets and markets along which the Prince had been full of life but a few days ago; after which, it was inhumed in the monument of his glorious ancestor, Soltan H8moy8n. This execution was followed by one less affecting, but no less cruel. There was a Fakir named Shah-sermend(96), whose only crime was to have deeply felt

(93) This book contained a comparison of the Mahcmetan and Gentoo laws, and proposed expedients to reconcile the two religions. It is intitled *Medjmoa-i-bahrein*, or junction of two Seas, and is extant to this day. It is written with warmth.

(94) This, properly speaking, is the profession of the Musulman faith, but so modified in its last word, as to be levelled against Christians, called associators in the Coran and by Musulmen in general, as the latter accuse them of adoring three Gods, and of giving to God for a companion a man, who had lived and died like a man.

(95) The tenth of Zilhidj is set apart to commemorate Hibrahim's intended sacrifice of his eldest son, Ismael. A ram at least is sacrificed, and killed by each head of family, who must roast and eat some part of it, and distribute the rest to the poor; new clothes are given to the family, alms bestowed on the needy, inimities put an end to; quarrels quashed, and pardons asked from any one who may have been offended. Nor is the sacrifice acceptable if any offended man remains unsatisfied.

(96) This Shah-sermend must have been a man of importance to have been buried in so sacred and so superb an edifice as the Cathedral of Delhi; for that Cathedral is of white marble, and one of the finest buildings in the world, without

Dara-shecoh's misfortunes, and to have expressed a warm attachment for his person; even so inoffensive a man fell under the animadversion of the ecclesiastical doctors, who, to gain the reigning Prince's favour, never fail to give precisely such an answer as is expected from them. Those Pagan doctors sentenced him to death; and other men as Pagan as the doctors, put the sentence in execution. His body was carried to the Cathedral of Shah-djehan-abad, by a multitude of people who buried it in a corner of the yard.

Such people were punished with death, as a matter of course; but the Commanders and Collectors of Aoreng-zib's own appointing, were, meanwhile, suffered to prey without controul upon the vitals of the people; and the Zemindars, those miscreants so often punished by the late Emperors for their extortions upon travellers and merchants, and for their setting up again on the highways exactions abolished and condemned longwhile ago, were suffered to pass unnoticed. Nor did any of those religious doctors adjudge to death any one of those eternal oppressors of mankind, were it but to make an example that might repress and deter others of a similar stamp; nor did that religious Emperor, that Champion of the faith(97), think so much as once of affording his people so necessary a piece of justice, or of throwing off his shoulders that load of curses and execrations which so many oppressed and ruined famlies were accumulating upon him. All these events are mentioned at length in the memoris left us by Hashem-aali-qhan-qhafi(98), the historian, who had been for a length of years in Aoreng-zib's Court, and had enjoyed employs and offices of consequence in his service, had

excepting anything in Europe. It was observed of the famous Zophani, one of the most eminent painters of this age, and who had lived seventeen years in Italy and seen Petersburg, Amsterdam, Vienna, London, and Paris, that on casting his eyes for the first time on that superb edifice, and the more superb one raised as a Mausoleum by Shah-djehan, at Agra, he screamed out: *Where is the case to cover so many beauties? For this is too fine to be exposed to the impression of the air.*

(97) This alludes to one of that Emperor's titles, Ghazy, or even Ghazi-eddin, a champion fighting for the faith. It is a title given to three Turkish Emperors, but assumed by all the Hindostany Emperors, who are deemed perpetually at war with Gentoos, or, as they are called, with Pagans.

(98) He was son to Qhoadja-mir; himself an Historian, and a man of a high rank, as well as his son.

lived with him as a friend, and had been present and witness to all the transactions he records—transactions which although mentioned with all the delicacy and precaution required by those times, nevertheless strongly delineate the real character of that hypocrite. It is from those memoirs I am extracting what I say; and he is my voucher and evidence. He reports expressly, that a number of duties and tolls long ago abolished by the late Emperors, and no more borne upon the books, were nevertheless set up again, and with impunity levied by his own Collectors and Fodjdars, against whose exactions shoals of oppressed people repaired in bodies to Court, and exposed their grievances in his presence with a great deal of vociferation; but this, instead of producing some supplice, or some severe example that might deter others, was answered only by threatening letters, and by orders to inquire into the allegations, as if scrupulously to conform himself to the precepts of the law, with orders that inquiry should always precede punition. A few of them were punished by a diminution of military grade, or by dismission; but it was only until they might be reinstated again at the recommendation of their protectors and associates. The extortions and violences of the Zemindars upon travellers, merchants and other inoffensive people, rose to such a height in that reign, that whole caravans of people that came from visiting the house of God(99), were set upon in their journey homeward, and slaughtered; and consorts and daughters of Musulmen were carried away by Gentoo pagans as so much fair booty; nor is there mentioning with decency the enormities committed by those miscreants, who acted everywhere with as much authority as if they had been so many officers appointed by Government. But the latter were not less forward than them! Those men who are stationed from the Port of Surat up to the gates of the Capital, on purpose to protect travellers, and especially that particular sort of travellers, availed themselves of their stations to come in for a share of the booty; and

(99) The Caaba or square house which in the temple of Mecca, is the object of the Musulman pilgrimage, and not, as Christians fable it, the Prophet's tomb, which is at ten days' journey from thence. The holy places in the Arabian Irac are Kerbelah, where is the tomb of Hussein, and Cûfah, where Aaly is buried. There are some other holy places also in Irac-arebi or Arabian-irac.

after having detained those poor people two or three days together, they despoiled them of the very clothes upon their backs, and dismissed them naked, on finding that nothing else was to be had from them. The above historian relates that he had seen numbers of such people, who after having visited the house of God, in Hedjaz, and the holy places in Irac, were returning to their homes, when they met with the most crying violences from those very guards stationed for their protection. Some being despoiled of their very clothes, were perishing with heat or cold(100), and some were expiring of their wounds in the neighbouring fields; nor was there a sympathising soul throughout the whole Court to listen to their groans, or to administer them relief; none to hear their sobs, but God almighty; none at all; and when at last these violences and enormities came to be mentioned at Court, there was not a Doctor, not a Mufti, to answer, that *to commit a small evil for the attainment of a mighty good, was lawful and expedient;* none, to adjudge to a condign supplice a few at least of those merciless oppressors, as an example and warning to others. No one thought of asking, and no one of resolving the question, *Whether some drops of guilty blood were not to be shed in retaliation for so much innocent blood that had run by torrents.* All these were matters of small moment, forsooth, and such as admitted delay and deliberation; but to put to death and imprison his brothers, to confine their consorts and children, to keep for years together his own father in a grievous confinement—all these were matters that required the utmost dispatch, and admitted of no deliberation, and no delay; for adjudging all these to instant death, the religious Emperor, that Champion of the law, had always at his elbows and in his pay, plenty of doctors and plenty of men skilled in the art of expounding the law. To save appearances, however, and to acquire a character for sanctity and submission to the law, he raised the power of the ecclesiastics to the utmost height, and meanwhile made it a point to abstain from the most lawful amusements.

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(100) The Reader must be informed that from February to April the weather, although sultry by day, is chilly by night, especially before the dawn of the day; so that a man has full occasion for his clothes all over the East, from Aleppo to the Ganges.

There were at all times in the Imperial pay a number of comedians and other imitators and satirists of human actions. These he continued in his service, and even increased their salaries, but he forbade their singing and dancing; and at the same time he exiled the Poets and Astrologers from his Court. And whereas the accounts of the pay and receipts of the apanage holders were hitherto kept by solar months, according to the course pointed out by the Yonani (Yonian) Calendar(101), he consented that the above method should continue in the above particular part, but forbade it in any other part of the public Registers, ordering that they should be kept by lunar months according to the Musselman system. He abstained likewise from prying into futurity according to the rules of the Yonian system, and was so little superstitious on those articles that the Tuesday and Thursday, those days generally held ominous by all the world, he set apart for his days of going on a progress, or for setting out on an expedition. He now commenced abstaining from jewels or any rich stuff, rejected any other colour than the white(102) in his own apparel, and he forbade any one of his Grandees to be admitted in his presence, that should wear either rich stuffs, jewels, or gaudy colours; so that simplicity became now the etiquette of the Court. These alterations, which deprived an infinity of families of their bread, were taken to task by the singers and farcers, who having put a richly clothed figure of clay in a coffin, carried it in procession throughout the principal streets, whilst some other took care to throw quantities of dirt at it as it went by; and all this under the very windows of the

(101) The author means the Greek, or Ptolemean Solar System. The ancient Greeks are not known in the Eastern books by any other appellation than that of Ionians, and it would be easy to prove that they had themselves no other generic appellation for their own nation; for the *Helines* were only the European Greeks.

(102) He was a great admirer of the white colour, (a colour, by the bye, which seems to be pointed out by the very heat and dustiness of the climate) and he used to say that if it was a colour made up by art, he would reserve it for the Imperial family. The dress at Court, even in winter, is the white, and it is also the general colour used by all the inhabitants of India, high and low. Since the Abdalies have come to cut so great a figure in Hindostan, their dress, which is the Persian, is become of fashion, especially in winter · and of course coloured and rich stuffs are admired especially at the Court of Lucknow. However, it must be remembered that fine cotton stuffs, embroidered or not, are more costly in India than either Silks or Brocades.

apartment where they knew the Emperor to be actually sitting. On his asking what was meant by such a shew, he was answered, that singing and rejoicing being dead, the comedians and singers(103) were carrying the corpse to the grave. "*And so "they may,*" replied he, "*but let them take care, lest, in "contrariety to the law of God, the dead should seem to move "in his grave, or pretend to speak or sing.*" There is in the Capital a standing custom transmitted down from the ancient Emperors of Delhi, and to which all their successors had religiously conformed; namely, that of shewing themselves every day at a certain hour to their subjects from the Octagon Tower, on the water side, where thousands and ten thousands of both Mussulman and Gentoos came to enjoy the sight of their Princes, but of Gentoos especially, many of whom make it a religious duty never to sit down to their meal unless they have seen the reigning Prince first. These Gentoos are called Dursunnees(104), and this practice had become a very respectable tenet amongst them. This custom he abolished, disobliging, hereby, to no purpose at all, an infinity of loyal subjects. Suppose it to have been an absurd custom in the Gentoos, still it did him no harm. It was a ridiculous tenet of theirs, and an absurd one. Be it so; but what harm was there in letting it remain amongst so many other absurd tenets and ridiculous practices of theirs? At any rate, it was an innocent one.

As to his Doctors, Cazies, and Ecclesiastics, he gave them so much authority, and allowed them such an unbounded sway, that their perpetual interference came at last to obstruct the wheels of government, and to disgust, as well as to deprive of

(103) The Indians have no other comedies than such farces as were known in Europe three hundred years ago, but with this difference, that they never mix any thing religious in their performances, and that these exhibitions, on the other hand, were always decent, and often chaste. But since the Abdali or Persian dress, and even the Peshto language and modes and customs, have come to give the ton to the Courts of Delhi and Lucnow, many shocking indecencies, mostly of the dissenting kind, are admitted, and much laughed at, in those comedies; moreover, the very dances, which were both graceful and modest in India, have been tainted with that style. So that even women now dance the Caharvara (or Chairman's dance), a dance which would be akin to the Spanish fandango, danced by sailors, were it danced by men mixed with women; for it is these only that dance it, dressed in Chairman's garbs.

(104) From the ancient word *Dursun*—sight.

all power, the Governors of Provinces, the Collectors of the Revenue, the Fodjdars and the military Commanders, all of whom fell into a neglect of the duties incumbent on their stations, and by their inaction gave rise to an infinity of disorders; insomuch that all the ancient rules of Government were set aside, all ranks were confounded, and an universal neglect and indifference took place everywhere. Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, the Historian, relates that the Emperor having appointed Abdolvebhab, a citizen of Ahmed-abad, to the office of Cazi of Cazies, or Supreme Judge, he suffered him to assume so much authority in all matters of revenue and Government, that the Ministers themselves thought it incumbent upon them to keep fair with such a man, and to husband his good will; after having experienced to their cost, that it was in vain for them to find nothing but artifice and collusion in his conduct, and to accuse him of being intent only on amassing money. And of this we have a very strange instance in the following story, which, as well as so many others, is upon record:—

Whilst the illustrious Moqhtar-qhan was Governor of Burhanp8r (and he was a nobleman allied both to the Emperors of Iran and to those of Hindostan), the office of Supreme Cazy of that Province was bestowed on Mahmed-saleh, a man born in the East(105), who being supported by the Emperor's favor and known countenance, became so enterprising, and assumed so much authority, that the Governor-General himself seemed to bend under his authority. Once Moqhtar-qhan happened to concern himself for a man against whom another had set up an obsolete claim for a house, claim which the whole city, as well as the Governor-General, knew to be superannuated. But the Judge, by admitting the testimony of two witnesses in opposition to the evidence of the Governor and of most of the Grandees of Burhanp8r, adjudged the house to the claimant, were it but to shew his power in opposition to that of the Governor's. The latter, unable to withstand the Cazy's decision, retired in disgust. A few days after, another similar cause being brought before the Judge, and it being again decided in a similar manner upon

Extreme authority and overbearing pride of the Ecclesiastics under that reign.

(105) P8rub. Bengal, Bahar, and A8d are understood by that general expression at Delhi; but Bang is the real name of Bengala, and signifies South-east, as P8rub signifies East.

the evidence of those two men, the Governor, with a number of creditable men, stood up and accused them both of perjury; on which both the men acknowledged themselves guilty of the charge. The Governor upon this public acknowledgment turned to the judge and said: "*These are those same men upon whose* "*contemptible evidence you have deprived some days ago that* "*poor man of his house, against the general conviction and* "*universal testimony of all the citizens of Burhanp8r.*" The Cazy, aware of Moqhtar-qhan's intention, became angry, and he answered in these words: "*I suppose, sir, that your inten-* "*tion was only against me, whom you wanted to render ridicul-* "*ous; but I inform you that you have rendered the law itself* "*ridiculous, as well as it's preposed; and of course, that you* "*have fallen under it's lash, and have merited corporal punish-* "*ment. The credit of these two witnesses does not seem to be* "*yet affected; it is so far intire, that should those same men* "*stand up now, and give evidence that you have drunk wine* "*yesterday, I would condemn you immediately to the chastise-* "*ment decreed by the law*(106). *As to those that prevaricate,* "*the law is clear on that head.*" This said, he ordered the beards and whiskers of those two men to be shaven, their persons to be seated upon an ass, with their faces besmeared with dirt, and turned backwards, and then to be confined in prison, after having been carried in derision throughout the principal streets and markets of the city. One of those two men poisoned himself on hearing this sentence; and the Cazy resigned his office, and retired to his house. This retreat consterned the Governor, who sensible how addicted was the Emperor to ecclesiastics, and apprehensive that he might take this affair very ill, thought it expedient to pay a visit to the Judge, and to engage him to resume his functions with as overbearing a sway, and as offensive a haughtiness as ever; nor did he reap from all this affair any thing but shame and repentance. Nevertheless, the Emperor with all his prejudices came to open his eyes at last. Finding that the ecclesiastics troubled and overset the whole administration, and that nothing would go forwards unless he employed the Gentoos again in his service, a set of men who, either as powerful Princes, or as keeping the books

(106) Twenty-five lashes.

and registers of the Revenue, were the axle-trees of the wheels of Government, he contrived to take his revenge of that loyal submissive people, by loading them with new impositions, exacting double duties from those of that description, and submitting them to a poll-tax—innovations which after all gave him a deal of trouble, and produced nothing but repentance. For such ordinances require a strong hand, and a great exactitude, so as to subdue equally the highest and lowest of mankind; and when they affect only the impotent, without having any energy over the headstrong and refractory, they cease to be laws and they dishonour all Government. After all, it must be remembered that as Princes and Kings are reputed the shadows of God, they ought, in humble imitation of His divine attributes, to accommodate themselves to the dispositions and minds of their subjects, so as to carry an equal hand over them, without exception, without predilection, and without shewing a dislike or hatred to any description of men. Such impartiality is incumbent upon Princes, if they intend to be the fathers and cherishers of the people entrusted to their care, and if they really wish that every man should look up to the Monarch as to his benevolent forgiving father. This is a duty incumbent upon them, if they wish that every one should think himself happy under their government. For the subject must be cherished in the very palm of the Monarch's hand, if the Monarch really intends to discharge his duty, and to let the world see, that he feels all the meaning of these verses of Saadi's:

Singular sentiments of an Asiatic, which ought to be written in letters of gold upon the gates of all the Princes in Europe.

"That beneficent Being which from its invisible treasury
"Feeds, with an equal hand, the believer, the unbeliever, the weak,
"and the strong,
"Might, if it had so pleased, have created men of one opinion,
"Or have converted them at one word to one and the same religion."

If, then, conversion is intended, lenity and benevolence especially to the poor and impotent, will go a great way in reconciling the hearts of mankind. Let then Kings and Monarchs look day and night into the book containing the actions and sayings of the Prince of Prophets and Chief of messengers; let them admire with what sweetness and forbearance that Noble Being used the unbelievers of his time, his personal enmies(107),

(107) This assertion of the Author's, which is strictly true, militates strongly against that envenomed opinion scattered all over Europe, that Musulmanism has

and how he opened the recesses of those stubborn understandings with the key of his goodness and liberality; let them admire how he softened the ulcers of those cankered hearts of theirs, with the balsam of his good manners! He gained their hearts at last so far as to convert them into so many friends, whom he associated to himself in his wars and expeditions; but whom he also knew how to keep in such a state of inferiority, that none of them could pretend to an equality with him, although every one of them was invested with some command.

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been propagated by the sword, and that Mohammed never converted any one otherwise. There is a very short answer to such an assertion, endlessly and most impudently repeated and inculcated all over the world, and it is this: a gross falsehood and a gross error. Never did Mahomet convert any one with the sword, and never did Musulmanism force any one to a conversion. This is so far true that (to omit numerous instances) Ab8-sofian, uncle to Mahomet, but his mortal enemy, that man whom he took prisoner and whom he appointed to the Government of Taif, his native country, died an unbeliever; and moreover, rallying at his nephew, now universally acknowledged as Missionary from God; and we may remember that the Jews, especially those of Qhaibar, to whom he seems to have returned all the aversion they bore him, those men guilty of so many bloody actions and so many perfidies, never experienced at his hands a harsher treatment, than that of paying to him a third of the product of their date-trees. Here is more. He was poisoned by Djoveira, one of their daughters; he knew it, and never offered any thing more than a confirmation of that tribute. As to the forced conversions said to have been worked by the Musulmanism, all over the world, here is what all the earth deposes. Without mentioning the Maldivas, the Malabar, the Eastern Peninsula, all China, all Tartary, all that endless Archipelago of the Indian Ocean, all Habissinia, all Negro-land, &c., &c., countries, where the Musulman arms never penetrated, it may be said with great truth that forced conversions are unknown to the Mahometans; and without looking at the present state of Musulman countries, which swarm with churches, Priests, and Christians; without minding the Turkish dominions, where there are as many Christians as in the British dominions; without minding Hindostan, where Gentoos are to Musulmans as three or four to one; without recurring to Spain, where the latter Musulmans would have been happy to experience one-tenth part of that lenity which they had themselves shewn, some centuries before, to those very Christians, now become their conquerors; without alleging all that, a Musulman might challenge any man to point out one single village from Tours in France to the Cape of Good Hope and to China, where the Musulmans have forced any one to quit his Religious tenets, inorder to embrace theirs. As conquerors, indeed, they have established their Religion in the conquered countries, because they settled themselves in them, and built Mosques, and married and propagated, just as the English have established their religion in Calcutta, and the French in Pondichery. But will any one, except he be a Divine indeed, come foward and tell us that either the Musulmans or the English have ever laid hold of a man, and told him, *Embrace our tenets, or we will kill you*

VERSES.

"Never take your ownself for the standard to which virtue can rise
"in a virtuous heart;
"Nor ever confound *Shir* and *Shir*(108) although they be written alike.

One would think that a Prince, so zealous for a religion that recommends meekness, and enforces mercy, must have been remarkably tender-hearted; and here are some instances of that tenderness of heart: He kept his eldest son confined for years together for no other reason, but because that young unexperienced Prince had joined Soltan-shudjah, his maternal uncle, in his wars of Bengal, in hopes of becoming his son-in-law. It is true that the Prince repented of his rashness, and came back of himself; but it is no less true that he was punished with a severe confinement; and this was also the usage offered to his other son, Sultan Muäzzem, since Bahader-shah, who was accused of intriguing with Soltan-ab8l-hasen, surnamed Nana-shah, King of Haider-abad. The Prince, with his sons and family,

instantly? And yet it is exactly what another religion has said, and has been saying to this day to all mankind. The Musulmans being originally, not the scum of a little ignoble obscure people, but conquerors, used constantly to say to the conquered, *Be our subjects, and pay us a poll-tax, as such. Do you dislike it? Then be our brethren, become of the same religion; and down with the tax.* But there is another religion in the world, which has been at all times a scene of blood and massacre, and which would be so to this very day, had not mankind become extremely cold and indifferent on that article. That religion, so early as ninety years after its foundation, had, even then, men who would strike a Roman Governor sacrificing to *Jupiter Optumus Maxumus*, and reproach him with that act of allegiance. It had men who so early as Diocletian's time could in revenge set on fire an Emperor's palace, and in time massacre his consort and sisters and children. That religion never said to any one. *Be our brethren, or pay us a tribute, and remain as you are.* But it has been saying for seventeen hundred years together: *Throw away your idols, and take ours, or we will cut your throats immanerably.* And this merciless sentence has been loudly and over and over thundered out to all mankind from the Baltic to the Aller, in Saxony, and from England and France, to America and to India. It has been thundered out to an infinity of people who would have been glad to keep their religion on paying a tribute, on paying it double and triple. No wonder then, if a Musulman of some learning and knowledge has told us more than once, (and we have been only repeating his own reasoning,) that after having carefully examined the European assertion, he could not find a single village where the Mahometan religion might have been introduced by the sword or by artifice; whereas, neither his reading nor memory could afford him one single instance where the other religion has been propagated otherwise.

(108) These words are written alike in Persian, and signify, the one *Milk*, and the other *Tiger* or *Lion*.

and some of his trustiest eunuchs, was confined for a number of years; and in this long confinement he suffered numberless affronts and hardships, in which Nor-en-nessa-begum, his beloved, his sensible and learned consort, was joined to him, for she would not part with her husband on any terms. His eunuchs underwent a variety of hard usage and even torments, to make them confess their master's guilt; but as nothing could be proved that way, and nothing came out of their mouths, he rightly concluded that he would be accused of injustice and hardness of heart. He sent the Prince word that he had better confess his misdemeanors, and ask his pardon, as such a confession would conduce to his safety in this world and the other. The Prince with an admirable presence of mind answered directly, *That although it was true that man never could repay the obligations he had to the Divine Goodness, and of course was guilty and defective, yet as he was not conscious of the crime laid to his charge, he could not of course confess himself guilty of it.* The father was shocked at his answer; and this resentment rising to a pitch, he increased the rigours of his son's confinement, and carried matters so far, that the Prince was debarred the use of suitable clothes and aliments, and condemned to live without paring his nails, shaving his head, clipping his beard, or bathing his body; so that for a length of time, he was himself, with his whole family, obliged to undergo these hardships.

This suspicious temper seemed to be the basis of the Emperor's mind, and it alienated every heart. He had inherited a number of Generals and Ministers that had been formed by his father, the illustrious Shah-djehan, that second Lord of the Conjunction. They were all men of merit and abilities, such as had repeatedly given proofs of an undaunted bravery and an inviolable fidelity; such in one word as have their names living to this day in the recording pages of history. Even these were ill used by that suspicious, ungrateful man; nor is there any single one amongst them, that has been happy under his government; so far from it, that they were perpetually exposed to that suspicious temper of his, which took umbrage at every thing, and discontented all the world. Hence the reason why he never succeeded fully in any one of his undertakings, and why by the connivance and secret disinclination of his Generals, he often

suffered the most disgracious checks, and the most shameful miscarriages; and all that by his own fault, for whatever he saw was of his own seeking. Some neglects and ruinous mistakes of his are recorded at length in Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhâfi's history; but we have many instances of his unforgiving vindictive temper.

Generosity, magnificence, and compassion to strangers are qualities so conspicuous in the characters of the Emperors of the Sefi-race(109), (whose tombs may be ever resplendent with the rays of Divine mercy!) that they are become a matter of encomium and admiration to all the world; insomuch that none of their successors, no more than any of their predecessors, can come up to them in those heavenly qualifications, which they have constantly exercised towards several Kings and Princes of diverse nations. History is, to their eternal honor, full of such instances of their benignity; nor is a man in Hindostan uninformed of the extreme goodness and compassion shewn by them to some refugee Princes of the family of Babr, and especially to Homäy8n. Shah-soleïman himself (father to Shah-soltan-hosséin(110), although a Prince negligent, incapable, fanguinary, and immersed in all the abominations of daily crapule and endless debauch, nevertheless approved himself a great Monarch, when he received the Prince Ecber, son to Aoreng-zib, with a cordiality, and a generosity which nothing could equal but the father's baseness of mind, and his hardness of heart to his own son, or the perfidy of the heretical Prince of Mascat to his Royal guest. All these events are mentioned at length by Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhâfi, who seems anxious to hang every one of them as so many pendants to the ears of attentive posterity. Whilst Aoreng-zib treated his own offspring in such a manner, it is curious to see what usage he offered to some Gentoo Princes, who had rendered him some services, but to whose race, as well to all Gentoos whatever, he had a natural antipathy. Radja Djesvent-rathor, who had always been an ambitious restless Prince, and was more hated by him than any other Gentoo, became a great object of favor for him at once. Hearing that

(109) The Kings of Persia, of the Sefi family.

(110) Shah-soltan-hosséin, a weak Prince, was the last of the Sefi family, that reigned over all Iran. He was dethroned and confined by Mir-mahm8d, the Afghan, whose family was itself expelled by Tahmasp-c8ly-qhan, *alias* Nadyr-shah.

he was come out of Gudjrat to Dara-shecoh's assistance, and that he had engaged him to try his fate in another battle in Adjmir, he prevailed upon him, by Radja Djehy-sing's interposition, to quit the Prince's party; and for this worthy proceeding of his, he was rewarded with the military grade of seven thousand horse, and the rich Government of Gudjrat, with permission of never coming to Court. This Radja, on the cessation of the troubles in Decan, was appointed to the command of an expedition in Cab8l, where the officers under him being all Radjp8ts, equally bold and imprudent, two of them that happened to be his own sons, quitted the army without leave from Emir-qhan, the Governor of the Province, and on their return home presented themselves to the ferry on the Atec(111), where being refused admittance, as they had no pass, they, like thoughtless young men, picked up a quarrel with the guards, and passed by force. But as Shah-djehan-abad lay full in their way to their homes, no sooner had they set a foot in its territory, than they were stopped by an Imperial command, whilst the Cutval with a body of troops received an order to surround them, and to prevent their flight. After some days, the Commanders and officers that were with those Princes, petitioned for leave to go on with their journey and to return home; and this favor they easily obtained from the Emperor, who thought their departure so much the better for his design, as they would leave behind, as he thought, the children and consorts of the two Radjas, surrounded by his own troops. The officers having obtained leave, dressed the consorts of the two Gentoo Princes in men's clothes, and his two sons like two slave-boys; and taking them in their retinue as so many menial servants, they left in their stead, some slave-boys dressed like Princes, and some waiting-maids, with the apparel and jewels of real Ranies or Princesses; at the same time a strong guard of trusty Radjp8ts being ordered to watch round the tents where the pretended Princes and Princesses were kept, they set out with the real ones, after having recommended to the Radjp8t guard to defend them manfully, should they be demanded, and to protract the engagement so as to afford to themselves that were setting out,

(111) Atec or Hindus, so called from Atecna, to stop or be stopped. See Note 264, *Section XVI*, and Note 89, *Section I*.

at least a delay of five or six hours; after which time they might surrender their charge, as by that time the real Princes and Princesses would be already far off. This being agreed to, they departed; and as soon as they were thought at a distance, orders came for bringing the Princesses to the Seraglio, and for reducing the young Princes to slavery. But by this time the secret had taken vent, and troops had been sent after the runaways, although in vain. Meanwhile the Radjp8t guard, after protracting the time under several pretences, at last refused to resign their charge, and in fact did not resign it, but after fighting valiantly, until they were all slain or wounded. In this manner their charge was taken possession of, the women were put in the service of some of the ladies of the Imperial Sanctuary, and the boys received against their will the seal of Musulmanism (112); and for a length of time a rumour prevailed that these were the real Princes and Princesses, and that

(112) It is surprising that a man, so well informed as our Author, should mention circumcision as the seal of Musulmanism. It is not so; nor is there one single word about it in the Coran. It was barely an old custom amongst the Arabs, that had in Mahomet's time two or three thousand years of antiquity. The Author could not know that there are nations that use circumcision, together with baptism; for instance, the Habissinians, and many others that have that bloody rite, without so much as having heard of Musulmanism; and such are the Hottentots and some Americans, and even the Islanders of the South Sea. Nay, the Christians themselves, a hundred and fifty years after their appearance in the world, used throughout all Syria to circumcise as well as to baptise their proselytes—two rites equally common throughout all antiquity to several nations as well as to the Jews. But what proves beyond any doubt how little circumcision can be the seal of Musulmanism, is the variations under which it appears amongst the Arabians themselves, to say nothing of others. There are to the translator's knowledge four different kinds of circumcision amongst them; and of this, he should never have suspected anything, but for an adventure that happened in 1769, during his two years' residence at Mecca. A girl just married, that lived in the story above him, leapt out of her bed at day-break; and running down stairs in the shop below, with every demonstration of contempt, horror, and amazement, she screamed out that her husband was a Nassara, or a Nazarean (a Christian), and lamented her hard fate. This Nassara was no less a man than Sheh-abbass-bedavi, our instructor in the rites of pilgrimage. He was forty years of age, born at Mecca, and this was his second wife. This uproar having brought about two hundred persons of all ages and sexes, within or about the shop, who all made a joke of the matter, and cracked high flavoured sarcasms upon it, I learned from several amongst them, (and two or three were so circumcised) that a few tribes in the deserts of Nadjd, west of Mecca, (where the bride was born and bred) had a particular circumcision peculiar to themselves; and this deserves a description, on the supposition that the reader

the others were the counterfeit ones, set up on purpose to save Radja Djesvent-sing's honor.

Be it as it will, Aoreng-zib, who could not bear to have been outwitted, but who pretended to act only by a principle of

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knows already some thing of the circumcision used in India, that circumcision is not about the prepuce; it is about the whole pubis, which it embraces in this manner. *A man belonging to the family bids the youth (and he must be a Pubere)* sit down under a tree upon a stone, and then with a razor or the point of a sharp knife, he marks into the skin a bloody line that circumscribes the top and lateral parts of the pubis, down to the lateral parts of the thigh which are closed to the scrotum. This done, he seizes the two corners with both his hands, and tears the whole down, so as to leave the pubis, the penis, great part of the scrotum, and part of the thighs bare. Good God! Is that credible? It is affirmed so, by hundreds of people that have no interest in imposing. Is it practicable without killing the patient? The translator has seen three such Arabs, and has heard of thousands; nor is it possible to impose such a tale on people that have a thousand times a year an opportunity of verifying the truth of it. But this is not all. All this while the youth has a sword in one hand, and a spear in the other, with the point fixed on his naked foot, whilst all the men and all the women of the family, or village, (nor are the virgins excluded) stand assembled about his person, and the orator or Poet of the clan (for each clan has one) addresses him in these words:—"No groan; no "tear; take care that thy uncle once killed a lion, body to body; and that, being "sent on a message to such a tribe, his provisions failed, and he travelled on five "days together without eating, and two days without drinking. Thy father was a "great warrior. He slew in battle such a one, and such a one wounded such a "one, the famous Horseman. Having gone on an expedition towards Bussorah, "the was caught by the Governor of that place, who ordered twenty candles to be "run in several parts of his flesh, where they were left burning. Thy brave father "did not utter a single groan, and he reproved your elder brother for so doing; and "that brother held his tongue." When the ceremony is over, the youth stands up, brandishes his spear, and is caught in the arms of the women, who carry him, to an entertainment in the middle of the acclamations of the whole assembly. Mr. Francis Scott, our friend, who had made a dozen of voyages to several parts of Arabia, and spoke Arabic fluently, knew that singular custom; but he rendered it more credible and less painful. He said that the penis being previously circumcised as usual, the pubis, and only the pubis, was torn away with the ceremonies above. This is not all. Girls are also circumcised in that manner among those of that clan. And indeed there is nothing strange in that; for women are circumcised both in Egypt and in Habissinia. But although the translator had an opportunity of observing an old woman of that clan bathing at Medina, and he took care in a scuffle to overset a young woman of the same clan, he could not distinguish whether the absence, so remarkable in them, was owing to nature or to art; nor was this very difficult, for the young woman bore the court-dress of her desert clan: a short Smock that went no lower than the navel, and a short Petticoat (id est, Apron), both being of the best manufacture the desert furnished (id est, of goat's skin prepared).

religion, undertook an expedition against Dj8dĕi-p8r, the Capital and original country of the Radjahs of the Rathor family, and of the ancestors of Djesvent's. The neighbouring Radja of Dj8dĕi-p8r thinking his honor concerned in protecting the consorts and children of Radja Djesvent's, raised troops, and put himself upon his defence. The Emperor hearing of this, sent him word that he had better discharge the arrears due upon his poll-tax and dismiss from his territories the consorts and children of Radja Djesvent's; the Radja at first seemed inclined to comply, and he sent ambassadors to camp, who took care to soothe the Emperor, and to make him so easy, that in a few days he returned to his Capital, leaving Qhan-djhan with a body of troops and orders to receive the promised money, and to bring the country of Dj8dĕi-p8r under controul. But as soon as he was gone, the Radja continued as refractory as ever. The Emperor extremely incensed, quitted the Capital a second time, and marched again into Adjmir against the Gentoo Prince. He also sent letters to Sultan Muäzzem, his eldest son, who governed the Decan, requiring him to come to Court in post; and another such command was dispatched to Azem-shah, who commanded in Bengal. Meanwhile the Imperial Prince Ecber, who was at Court, and in the very prime of his youth, received orders to march against the Radja; and the Prince's tutor, Shah-c8ly-qhan, having requested to lead the vanguard, was decorated with an augmentation of his military grade, and the surname of Betor-qhan; at the same time a number of veterans, commanded by officers of character, were ordered to attend him, and at last he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the expedition. The new General attacked the Rajp8ts, beat them everywhere, pursued them a long time, and reduced the nation to extremities; and it was at this very time that Sultan Muäzzem arrived at camp. He was ordered to march against a party of Radjp8ts that had fortified themselves at the Reservoir of Rana-sakur, distant about eight cosses from the Imperial camp. The other Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, arriving meanwhile, he was ordered to march against another party of Radjp8ts. The Rana, finding himself hard pressed, made up matters by an agreement, and at the same time he insinuated his notions so well in the young Prince's mind, that he engaged him to revolt against his

own father, against whom he undertook to support him immediately with an army of thirty thousand Radjp8t horse.

Prince Ecber, who had his own father's example before his eyes, thought it was very easy to revolt, and as easy to maintain a revolt, against him. But Sultan Muäzzem, who was attached to the young Prince, his brother, and had heard something of his design, wrote him a short letter of advice and reprimand; and he at the same time dispatched a supplique to the Emperor, to request his paying some attention to the intrigues of the Radjp8ts, who might avail themselves of the young Prince's youth and inexperience to engage him into some improper steps. The Emperor who had a perfect reliance on Prince Ecber's character, answered Sultan Muäzzem in these severe terms: "*I hope that God Almighty shall forgive you this enormous calumny, and afford you time to repent of it, so as that you may one day firmly walk upon the Bridge of Serat*(113); *in token of His having granted you a pardon for this disposition of yours to listen to rumours disadvantageous to others.*" This was the letter he wrote to his eldest son; but a little after he became necessarily convinced of his mistake, when he heard that the Prince Ecber had assumed the Crown, struck money in his name, created his tutor, Bethor-qhan, a Commander of seven thousand horse, and promotted every one of the Commonders and Lords that were with him to grades and employments in the Empire. Then he felt his own danger, the more so, as now he had about himself not one man of character but Assed-qhan and Behre-mend-qhan, with about eight hundred horse, and some clerks of the treasury; he therefore sent an order to Sultan Muäzzem to come immediately with his troops. The Prince, on this order, left his consort and family in his camp, recommending them to God Almighty; and setting out for Court with his two sons and a body of ten thousand horse, he arrived near the Imperial camp, where the Emperor, who remembered how he had used his own father, conceived suspicions against his eldest

Prince Ecber, younger son to Aoreng-zib, revolts against his father.

(113) The Bridge of Serat is represented as a keen sharp blade stretching archways over the Abyss of Hell, upon which the just will walk steadily, and reach the gates of bliss that will be seen open beyond the bridge; but those who shall be reproached by their own consciences, shall walk tremblingly, and at last shall drop down into the gulf below.

son, and directly sent him an order to leave his troops behind, and to come to the presence alone with his two sons. He at the same time ordered all his artillery to be pointed against his troops. The Prince complied with the order punctually; and the Emperor, being now so strongly reinforced, turned his views towards Prince Ecber's people, and by dint of threats and promises, he engaged numbers of them to return to their allegiance. Fortune favoured him so far, that his summons had almost a general effect; fear seized both Prince Ecber and his councillors, and they all thought of escaping by flight. But meanwhile an order having been dispatched to the neighbouring Governors and Fodjdars to bring him prisoner, he suffered incredible hardships in flying day and night; and after a variety of adventures, he arrived at last at the Court of Simba-dji, son and successor to Seva-dji, the Marhatta Prince. Simba-dji received him kindly, and assigned him a large pension; but as his behaviour in other respects was not answerable to his guest's Imperial rank, the latter passed his time disagreeably, and pined away in discontent.

Is abandoned by his troops.

Seeks an asylum with the Marhatta Emperor, Simba-dji.

The Emperor, informed of the asylum he had afforded his son, and fatigued, besides, with the continual complaints sent by the Governors of Decan against the inroads and violences of those free-booters, resolved to undertake an expedition against them, with the double view of recovering his son, and of punishing the Gentoo Prince. He called this *a sacred war,* undertaken against intractable infidels; and setting out in the twenty-first year of his reign, which answers to the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Hedjra, he arrived in Decan, from whence he detached Yticad-qhan, son to his Vezir, Assed-qhan, with a numerous army of veterans and an immense artillery. His orders were to subdue Simba, and to bring Ecber; for such were his proper words. The Prince, become now fearful for his safety and life, found means with about two hundred men that remained to him to make his way good to the sea-side; where having procured a ship, he embarked with all his followers, and fled towards the country of Iran. In his navigation thither he met with a storm that disabled his ship, put his life in great danger, and after exposing him to an infinity of hardships, forced him to take shelter in the Harbour of Mascat. The Imam, or Prince of Mascat, at first received him with honour and kindness; but in

Quits the Marhatta Court, and flies beyond the sea.

the sequel he seized on his person, and put him under a guard. He at the same time wrote to the Emperor to inform him that he had such a person in his hands, and that he might be prevailed upon to surrender it on several conditions, which he specified; two of which were, the sending of a sum of five lacs of rupees as a present, and the granting a general exemption of duties for ever to all the Mascatian vessels that frequented the ports of India. The Musulman Emperor, that Prince jealous of the honour of the law, that Champion of religion, was not ashamed to enter into that shameful treaty with that apostate heretic(114), and to grant him all his demands. He sent an order to the Governor of Surat, informing him of the general exemption granted to the Mascatian vessels, and commanding him to send a ship to Mascat, commanded by an able seaman, for the purpose of bringing up the Prince prisoner. The Governor cast his eyes upon one Hadji-fazul, a man who enjoyed the command of an Imperial ship by hereditary right, and who having made many voyages in Arabia, was thoroughly acquainted with those parts. The man departed; but hearing abroad, that Shah-sultan-soleïman, the Sefian, Emperor of Iran (whose tomb may for ever be illuminated by the rays of Divine mercy!), had granted an asylum to the fugitive Prince, and had used him with the most Princely kindness, he thought proper to come back. The detail of this surprising revolution is as follows:—

Is shamefully used by the King of Mascat.

The Iranian Emperor was informed that a Prince of the Babrian blood having fled from his father's resentment, had resolved to take shelter in Iran; but that being forced into the Harbour of Mascat by a tempest that had put his life in imminent danger, he had met with the most unworthy usage. The Imam or Sovereïgn of that country, having had the inhumanity to cast him in prison, and then the baseness to enter into a treaty for selling the unfortunate youth to his incensed father, the Sefian

(114) The Mascatians are of a particular sect, equally condemned by both Sunnies and Shyahs, but very brave, and so good seamen, as to have more than once beaten the Portuguese at sea, and made conquests on them in India, in this century. In short, they are a Naval Power in the Indian seas; and possibly, it is to their sea-faring way of life, and to the mercantile genius which it fosters and nurses up, that we owe this singular request in favor of the Mascatian traders. This is the first time that an Eastern Prince has thought of procuring to his subjects an advantage in that line.

Emperor no sooner was informed of all the circumstances relative to this strange adventure, than he thought his honour concerned in rescuing a Prince that had been seeking an asylum in his dominions. His anger, that anger capable to set the universe in a flame, kindled at the baseness and treacherous conduct of the Mascatian Prince; and he sent him a letter and message to this purport: "*That he had a numerous army "ready to chastise him for his infamous conduct; and that if "he delayed a moment to send to his Court a Prince who was "under the safeguard of his name, or neglected to do it with "the utmost honor and attention, he might rest assured that the "army of Iran would cross over, put to fire and sword every "part of his country, without distinction of age or sex, and "destroy his own person, with his whole family.*" The Mascatian King, on receiving such a threatening letter, was frightened beyond his wits. He altered his behaviour to the Prince, treated him with the utmost respect and honor, and having got him embarked in a ship of his own, with many presents, and every necessary piece of furniture for so great a Prince, he sent him over to Benderi-abbass(115). There the Prince landed; and he immediately dispatched to Isfahan, the Capital of Iran, one of his followers, called Mahmed-hibrahim, who was a very sensible well-behaved man. His orders were to repair in all speed to the foot of that second Solomon's throne, and to return to the Sefian Emperor his cordial thanks for his having so strongly concerned himself in restoring a forlorn Prince to liberty and safety. Shah-sultan-suleïman having heard Mahmed-hibrahim with the utmost benignity, dismissed him to his master, and got him accompanied by Mahmed Hashem-qhan, the Tabrizian, a Lord of his Court, with orders to bring the Prince with the utmost honor and deference, without sparing, in the journey, anything that might conduce to his ease, convenience, or pleasure. His orders were to treat him in all respects as his Imperial guest; and as he came to hear that the territory of Benderi-abbass produced certain fruits extremely agreeable to Hindians, such as Ambas(116) and Anannases, and

(115) Benderi-abbass, *alias* Camran or Gambron, is over against Mascat, and on the Persian shore, a place as horribly hot as Mascat itself, but more unhealthy

(116) Mangoes, Pine-apples, and Betels: three words unknown to the Indians, as being coined by the Europeans.

likewise a certain leaf called Paan, without the use of which those people became uneasy, an Imperial order was dispatched to the Governor of Benderi-abbass to take care, not only to furnish the Prince with those productions during his stay in that port, but likewise to send daily a sufficiency for his household, during his voyage to Court, and during his sojourn at the Capital. His Majesty had the attention to send secretly with the envoy a painter so admirable in his art of drawing likenesses, that he seemed to work by some magical power, that exceeded the extent of human capacity. He had orders to examine the Prince with as much attention as secrecy, and to send his picture to Court; the Iranian Monarch wishing to guess at the real character of his mind by the gait of his body, and the features of his face; after which only he intended to give him audience.

After a long voyage the introductor Mahmed Hashem-qhan, the Tabrizian, arrived at Benderi-abbass, where he invited the Prince to Court, as he had taken every care imaginable to render the voyage, not only less irksome, but even pleasing. Being arrived at three cosses from Isfahan, he landed the Prince in a Royal garden and seat. This was no sooner known to Shah-Soleïman, than to show his high regard for his guest, he repaired thither to make him a visit. The Prince went out of the garden and park to see him alight, and he presented him with three pieces of jewel; one of diamonds, the other of rubies, and the third of emeralds, all of exquisite beauty, and of an immense value. These he presented in compliance with the custom of travellers, who, at their return home, make small presents to their friends. The Monarch, to oblige his guest, accepted the present, and to do him honor, he stuck the three pieces of jewel into his turbant; after which he embraced him with the utmost kindness, and then seating himself, he asked him about his health, and about his voyage. After the visit, he invited the Prince to the Palace prepared for him in the city; and here also he displayed his magnificence as well as his hospitality. The road between had been covered with brocade, velvet, and Machlibunder-chintz(117), which in those countries bear a high price, and are

Who receives him with the utmost hospitality.

(117) Calicoes of Masulipatam. But this town is not the only place famous for its painted Linen; the whole coast of Coromandel in a lengh of two hundred

in high esteem; and it was upon this kind of pavement that the Monarch and the Prince proceeded on horseback. The Monarch's horse went on quietly and at an easy pace, but the Prince's horse proved extremely mettlesome, and at last turned so unruly as to trouble the whole cavalcade. This being observed by the grand equerry, he brought him another horse, and the Prince vaulting with agility from the one to the other, excited the admiration of the by-standers, and the applause of the Monarch. Shah-soleïman, being by this time arrived at a forked street, stopped short, and went to his Royal seat, after having requested the Prince to accept of the lodgings that had been fitted up for him, and which proved to be a Palace filled with every necessary and every conveniency for himself and for his retinue. The next day the Monarch took again the trouble of making the Prince a visit in his new lodgings; from whence, after a short pause, he brought him to the Royal Palace, where he made him sit on a Mesned apart, shewed him every mark of honor and regard, and entertained him the whole day; at the end of which he dismissed him to his own lodgings, assigning for his subsistence a plentiful pension. After a certain time the Prince expressed a desire of returning to Hindia, and a hope that he would be assisted with a body of troops. The Monarch answered: "*Expect nothing of that kind from me, so long as your father* "*shall be alive. After his death, when the matter shall come* "*to be debated between your brothers, I shall not think myself* "*exempted from obliging and assisting you.*"

After such a narrative (and there are some others that will follow) the candid reader shall have it now in his power to form a judgment of Aoreng-zib, of the Prince of Mascat, of the Monarch of Iran, and of some others. He will soon find the nobility or baseness of each character, and the vileness and infamy of each individual, and will thenceforth conclude for himself and make his choice of what models he intends for his pattern,

cosses is so; and this beauty and adherence of the colours is owing to the peculiarity of the waters, some of which are admirable for the reds, some for the blues, &c. Painted Linen is made all over Hindostan, and of late in great quantities at Agra, Feroh-abad, and Lucnow. But G8djrat equals Masulipatam, which last word, by the bye, ought to be written Matchli-patan (Fish town), because of a whale that happened to be stranded there a hundred and fifty years ago.

and what for his detestation and contempt. After this digression, which we have thought of use, nothing remains now for us, but to return to our history, and to the Radjp8t Princes.

This escape of the consorts and children of Radja Djesventsing's (escape that did so much honour to the bravery and fidelity of the Radjp8ts), and this protection afforded him by the Ranna, added to the fatal consequences to which it gave birth, incensed Aoreng-zib to such a high degree, that he set out for Adjmir with an intention to destroy the Ranna's family. His hatred to Gentoos rose now to a pitch; so that he ordered the Capitation-tax(118) to be raised rigorously, sent circular orders for that purpose throughout all the provinces, and enforced his commands with great asperity, both in his camp, and Capital. As the Gentoos in that city amounted veral lacs, many thousands amongst whom were too poor to cread the tax, they assembled in vast multitudes under the place where they knew the Emperor was sitting, and they set up a intive tone of voice, which by degrees rose to the cupola of heaven. Aoreng-zib, so far from granting their request, did not so much as take notice of their sobs and complaints. The Gentoos consterned, but not without hopes, waited for the next Friday, when the Emperor was to go, as usual, to perform his devotions at the cathedral, and then they assembled by ten thousands and by lacs, so as to fill up all the space betwixt the gate of the citadel and the great mosque, together with the adjacent streats and lanes. The passage being intirely barred up, cries, sabs, and lamentations commenced on all sides, and little by little, they rose to the highest skies. No efforts were wanting to clear up the way, and the guards striking mercilessly over heads and hands, maimed and wounded numbers of people; for all that, no passage could be cleared; and no sooner had the moving throne advanced the length of two yards, than it was stopped short again. At last it became equally impossible to move backwards or forwards from the spot where it was jammed in; nor could the Emperor move in his own throne, nor any man from his place; and yet the throng seemed to increase, and it pressed so

The Capitation-tax enforced by Aoreng-zib, against the Hindoos.

Their very singular and respectful way of complaining of it.

(118) One must not mistake so far the case as to suppose this tax anyways comparable to what it has been in England, and still less to what it is in France. Musulmen know nothing of such amazing taxes. See Note 119, *Section II.*

hard as to render respiration difficult. The Emperor, after paussing awhile, called for a number of lofty elephants, which carry the Imperial streamers and insignia, and had gone forwards; he also commanded the elephants destined for the Imperial person, and he directed that they should be brought together, and made to force a passage by forming several ranks. The order being executed, numbers of people were under-trodden by the elephants, or wounded by the horses, grown unruly; the rest fled to their homes, and expecting nothing from the Emperor's compassion, submitted to their fate, and paid the tax. All this mercilessness, and all this hardness of heart proved of little avail, and for very little purpose. His obstinate wars in Decan necessarily slackened the stiffness of the law. Nor did those very bloody battles, and very laborious expeditions of his, produce any very great advantage to the Empire; for no man will attribute to the Emperor the battles fought, and the conquests made, in Decan, in Bengal, and in Asham, by those immortal Lieutenants of his, the heroes of the age, all Commanders equally intrepid and prudent; for instance, Qhan-djehan-cocal-tash, the Lord of Lords, Muăzzem the Moghul, the Afghans Dilir-qhan, Agher-qhan, and Da8d-qhan the Corĕishy, and so many others who everywhere exhibited feats of prowess, that would have attracted the admiration of any age. All these were disgusted, one after another, on seeing the little notice taken of their services; and the consequence of that disgust and universal discontent was, that several of his armies met with the most shameful and unaccountable defeats; such, indeed, as it is difficult and improper to mention at length. Hence the reason why we find so great a chasm after the first ten years of that Prince's history, the analysts of his reign having been forbidden in the tenth year of it to continue their chronicles; and hence the reason why after those ten years we find no detail of many parts of that long reign.

It is those very parts which the historian, Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, seems just to indicate, which I have expressly selected for publication, and which I shall mention here, in his own words, to save my own credit; they are as follow:—*Although the analysts of those times were forbidden to continue in their chronicles the rest of that religious, that equitable Emperor's history, after those ten years; nevertheless, some by-standers,*

and especially Mustâed-qhan, used to commit secretly to writing some of the events relative to the wars in Decan, passing slightly over the blamable parts of his conduct, and insisting only upon conquests of cities and fortresses, and upon victories. But as this is far from filling up the chasm of forty remaining years, I have endeavoured to make up the deficiency by assembling from all parts, and bringing together in one point of view, some scattered members of knowledge and intelligence transmitted to posterity by by-standers equally impartial and clear-sighted. And as, notwithstanding that, I find no particular account of the second ten years of that incomparable Emperor's reign, such at least as is digested in months and years, and it is impossible, of course, to bring such a disjointed part into regular order, I have endeavoured to give some account of this second decade as far as the nineteenth year, by Comparing together the Gazettes sent to the presence, with the annals of several neighbouring provinces, as drawn up by witnesses present and unconcerned; and it is from such materials, that I shall endeavour to continue this historical account, taking it up at the twentieth year of that reign.

Qhan-djehan, after his expedition of Haider-abad, was disgraced, and he retired to his Djaghiry lands, where he died of a broken heart. That General had chastised the Marhattas in such a manner, as to compel them to a quiet submissive behaviour, for some time before the arrival of the Emperor's victorious standards in those parts. Yet it happened that after the arrival of such numerous forces with the Emperor himself at their head; after the conquest of so many fortresses and cities; after spending so many corors of money, and full twenty-six years of his life in that expedition, those countries, at his death, were more unsettled than ever, and those infidels, so often beaten and vanquished, were become more warlike and more insolent than ever. They were settling their abodes upon the ancient territory of the Empire, and very often giving his armies shameful defeats, which cannot be attributed to any thing, but to that general discontent, and that universal disgust, that had spread among his officers and Ministers; disgraces which after having obscured the glory of his armies under his eyes, had extended to more distant provinces with a

contagion and a rapidity hardly to be conceived; although such disgraces had never happened to Qhan-djehan, nor had he ever suffered such a defeat as might affect his character or endanger his honor. Nothing in that General's history, but famous battles, and glorious engagements. Besides his expeditions against the Kings of Bidja-p8r and Haïder-abad, we see one continual series of heroical exertions, and so much Generalship and personal prowess, as to amaze the historians as well as the readers. The former relate of that General that, although he laboured then under the imputation of some underhand dealing with the Marhattas, he gave those insolent free-booters two defeats, that deserve to be recorded in the historical page. He was gone upon an expedition against them, and had advanced about forty or fifty cosses in their country, leaving the city of Aoreng-abad in his rear, when two of Simbadji's Generals, as great pillagers as ever existed, gave him the slip; and with thirty thousard horse, as famished of booty and plunder as themselves, they advanced to the very gates of that city with a firm resolution to plunder it. That populous city trembled, and saw its suburbs plundered and sacked. Qhan-djehan, informed of their intention, turned about and followed them with so much expedition, that when he overtook them, he had no more than two thousand horse with him. With these few he attacked vigorously, without giving time to the enemy to reconnoitre his numbers; and a bloody engagement taking place, he was performing wonders, and strewing the field with dead, when the rest of his troops arrived, and a general massacre commenced. It was remarked that wherever he fell, he never failed to mow down every thing about him. Whilst he was yet engaged with only his two thousand horse, the Marhattas found out his small numbers; and they were so encouraged by the discovery, that they attacked him repeatedly, and with so much vigor, that when his other troops arrived, he had only sixty troopers about his person (amongst these was Agher-qhan with his two or three brothers, and his son); and yet with these sixty men he was still a dangerous enemy. He detached himself from that small troop, overtook his own runaways, and by encouraging them with the voice and hand, he brought them back to the field, and engaged them to stand by him. It

Brilliant character of Qhan-djehan

was at this time that his other troops overtook him; at which sight even those that had fled far off, came back of themselves, and joined in the general massacre. It is this battle which is so famous all over those parts to this day, and is talked of with admiration all over Hindostan under the name of the Battle of Hersol. The massacre was so general, and the number of Marhatta dead bodies so incredible, that a great number of towers and pyramids were raised with their heads made up with moistened clay, all round the city of Aoreng-abad. A vast number of cart-loads of Marhatta spears and bucklers was at the same time sent into the Citadel, together with an infinity of mares(119).

The famous battle of Hersol.

The second battle is recounted in this manner:—*He was encamped at about thirty cosses distance from Aoreng-abad, over against the Marhatta army, and ready to attack them, when he heard that a numerous cavalry had wheeled round his rear, and had marched straight to that city, in hopes of finding it defenceless and an easy prey. Qhan-djehan, leaving his son to oppose the enemy at the head of twenty thousand horse, set out with a select body, and one of the Radjahs that were in his camp. With these he measured thirty-five cosses in thirty hours, and arrived at about one o'clock in the morning within two cosses of the Marhatta cavalry, by which time he had no more than seven hundred troopers about his person. The moment was critical. "If we wait till the day opens upon us," said he to the Radja, "and expose our small numbers to the full view of the "Marhatta cavalry, they will make cheap of us, and will fall "upon us as upon a certain prey. The best thing we can do is "this: Do you take all our drums and music, and stay here with "those Radj-p8ts that have kept pace with us, whilst our people "shall be coming by detached troops; these you are to assemble "in a compact body. Meanwhile, I am going to fall upon that "cavalry fast asleep, and make no doubt but I shall do a great*

(119) Although a vast number of Musulmen, that serve in the Marhatta armies, make use of horses, no genuine Gentoo Marhatta will serve, but upon a mare. They observe, that they are fitter for an ambuscade, because they never neigh at the sight or smell of each other, or of a horse; that they are quieter, and bear fatigue better; add to this that being in general followed by their foal, this last is early inured to long marches, fatiguing journeys, and scanty fare.

"deal of execution amongst them; but these people will be up "by the dawn of the day, and will probably endeavour to hem me "in on all sides. In that case, I shall retreat towards you, "with all those pursuers at my back; and your business will "be then to display all our standards, make as much noise as you "can with our music, and with your compact body to fall upon "those people whom their pursuit shall have put in disorder."

This said, he fell upon the Marhattas at about three o'clock in the morning, and killed an infinity of men, bafore they had time to awake and to recollect themselves; nor was anything heard but the words, "take and kill." *At day-break the smallness of his numbers becoming apparent, the Marhatta General, who had by this time assembled sixteen thousand horse, fell on all sides upon him, as well as upon the Radja who had not yet been joined by more than a thousand horse. Qhan-djehan, being hard pressed, retreated towards the Radja, with still the Marhattas at his back, when the Radja unfurling at once his standards, and playing his kettle-drums and trumpets, advanced to the attack. The moment that it was discovered by the Marhattas whose standards these were, they fell a crying that Qhan-djehan was come; and without minding his numbers or making any further inquiry, they fled on all sides. At this very moment, he was joined by four thousand more of his horse, and nothing was heard now but the words,* "kill and maim." *I happened at that very time, says Hashem-aaly-qhân-qhafi, to be in that very district for the purpose of examining my father's appanage; and finding I was surrounded on all sides by those free-booters, I gave up myself for lost. However, I made use of that very confusion, in which the Marhattas had fallen, to throw myself in the Imperial army, from whence I had opportunities to examine the whole engagement leisurely. In a few hours, I perceived ricks of Marhatta dead bodies on all sides; and they were so panic-struck, that quitting their mares and their arms, they would creep into the cottages of the peasants, and ask for quarter with the greatest humility and submission. The others, who had been plundered of their all, would answer those supplications by breaking their heads with sticks and stone. So that all the booty which they had assembled in their camp, fell in the hands of the victors.*

Two or three days after the battle, the field being strewed with dead, scavengers were sent amongst them with orders to cut off all the heads; and about fifty cart-loads of heads, spears, and bucklers were collected and sent to the Citadel of Aoreng-abad. It is in this manner that the renowned General, without ever being at a loss for expedients, used to gain endless victories under Aoreng-zib's auspices.—Here ends the quotation from Hashem-aaly-qhan(120).

It was such victorious Generals and such Lords, prodigal of their blood, that Aoreng-zib was continually disgusting by his suspicions and a cautiousness that had no end and no term. It is such men he was continually accusing in assemblies of purblind Cazies, and hood-winked ecclesiastics, who condemned such men to exiles, and to confiscations of djaghirs; a fatal blindness, the consequence of which was, that after spending so many years of his life in those expeditions, and squandering away all the corors of the Empire, he found himself farther than ever from bringing the Decan under proper controul; so far from it, that he inured the Marhattas to wars and to laborious campaigns; insomuch that a little after his death, they broke throughout all the provinces of the Empire like a torrent, made of all Hindostan an hippodrome for their courses, trampled all its cities under the hoofs of their horses, murdered an infinity of Mussulmen, children, men, and women, carried crowds of them into captivity, and defiled an infinity of reputable families; in which performances they were imitated by the Syks, and some other powerful Gentoos, who then raised their heads. The consequence of those obstinate wars of his in Decan started up in vast numbers during his life-time in his victorious face, and doubtless will start up again in the Day of Judgment; and this is what history says of his public life. As to his private character, it is by this time well-known: he became the tyrant

Terrible attack upon Aoreng-zib's character.

(120) Hashem-aaly-qhan, calls himself Qhafi, or the fearful and concealed: a title which he well deserves, if it be true that he wrote (at least so he says) with a deal of circumspection. He wrote in Aoreng-zib's camp, being a nobleman in high office at his Court, where he lived as his friend and one of his family. His book is scarce. We saw but one exemplary at Lucnow; and if there be any in Calcutta, it must be in the Libraries of the English, now become the only literati of Bengal.

of his father, of his brother, of his children, and grand-children; and with regard to his blind attachment to Cazies and men of the Church, the following quotation from Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi will shew what account he made of their opinions when they chanced to clash with his own, or to come home to himself:—

The victorious Emperor having resolved to conquer the Kingdom of Bidja-p8r and Haider-abad, one day asked of the Supreme Judge, or the Supreme Bishop of his Court, what he thought of such an expedition, and how far in his opinion it was lawful to proceed upon it? The Cazi, having given an answer directly contrary to the Emperor's pleasure, saw such a sudden alteration in his features, that he thought proper to abscond from Court; a few days after, he made use of the interposition of friends, to obtain leave to go to Mecca, in which manner he lost his appointment and office. The author means that the Judge, having incurred the Emperor's resentment by his unguarded decision, fled for his life, and thought himself very lucky to obtain leave to get out of his reach by exiling himself to Mecca. He that succeeded this Judge, was a man of as great a firmness of mind as his predecessor. It was the Cazy Abdoliah, Supreme Judge and casuist of the Court. This Magistrate, afflicted to see so many Mussulmen massacred on both sides in the wars of Bidja-p8r and Haider-abad, took upon him to observe, "*That the "Kings of those countries were Mussulmen, as well as their "soldiers; and that, the Imperial army consisting of Mussul-"men, the continual massacre that took place on both sides was "repugnant to the spirit of the law; and that, should His "Majesty, in the wisdom of his enlightened mind and the benign-"ity of his heart, cast a look of compassion on the afflicted state "of Mussulmanism, and grant a peace to mankind, an infinity "of poor ruined people would recommence to breathe, and might "recover their losses." This insinuation was very ill received; a little more, and the Casy would have been undone for ever. Some of the Princes of the blood, with many of the principal favourites, interposed their good offices to prevent the Judge's punition, and the Judge's extreme liberty was forgiven him; but he was forbidden the Court, as well as the Imperial presence, and he remained disgraced for a long time.*

Such was that glorious Emperor's character in public. But

so many blemishes and so many ugly actions are to be found in his private life likewise, that one would be apt to think that there is no wretch upon earth, but who with a little common sense would not have behaved with more caution. Most of those actions are recorded by Naamet-qhan-aaly, one of the Lords of his Court, in those elegant and sarcastical memoirs he has left us of what passed under his eyes. But as we have been speaking so often of the wars with the Kingdoms of Haider-abad and Bidja-p8r, it is but proper that we should recount some of the events relative to them, that the many examples, which our illustrious readers shall meet in them, may serve to put them upon their own guards.

The Emperor Aoreng-zib, whose ambition and covetousness knew no bounds, having formed the design of conquering the Kingdom of Bidja-p8r from the Monarch of the Adel-shahi. Dynasty(121), and that of Haider-abad from Soltan Ab8l-hassen, the last of the House of C8t8b-shah, he was looking out for some pretences to commence a war, but wished that the subject of discord might arise from those Princes themselves. He, therefore, commenced by writing a haughty letter to Soltan Ab8l-hassen, in which he reproached him for his keeping, as his Prime Minister, a Gentoo (the Brahmin Madina), and requested his dismissing that man from the Ministry, in order to remove thereby the scandal it gave to religious Mussulmans. The King of Haider-abad asked time to put that order in execution; but the Emperor hearing at that very time that this Prince was possessed of a diamond which, in bigness and beauty, surpassed every thing to be found in the treasuries of all the Princes of the earth,

Aoreng-zib attacks the King of Bidja-p8r, and Haider-abad.

(121) These Kings of Bidja-p8r, who all bore the title of Adel-shah and Adel-qhans from the founder of that Monarchy, are no others than those, so often mentioned in the histories of the Portuguese settlements in India, under the name of Idal-cans. In this same manner, we shall discover Soltan-bahadyr in the Soltan-bad8rs of G8djrat, and Nizam-el-mulk in the Mamalucoes and Nazamucoes of Bidja-p8r. But for our knowledge of this particularity of the Kings of Bidja-p8r, who all bore the same name or title, it might appear from the Portuguese histories, all written with the most slovenly carelessness, ignorance, and partiality, that a Prince of the name of Idal-can has been waging war with them in India for one hundred and eighty years together. This remark may serve as a clue to unravel that assertion of the ancient Persian history, where Key-mars, or Key-marass, their first King, is said to have lived a thousand years, &c.

he sent for Mirza-mohammed in his closet, a nobleman who had been born in his service, was one of his own breeding and training, and now enjoyed the office of Comptroller of the Hall of Audience. "*My motive for sending you,*" said the Emperor, "*to the Court of Haider-abad, is not solely for demanding a bit of stone, whether that Prince chooses to part with it or not; —your business, take care, is to speak so boldly and with so much liberty to him, as to make him lose his temper, and exhale himself in some expressions that may afford me a handle against him.*" The Mirza, furnished with such instructions, repaired to the Court of Haider-abad, where he was received with entertainments and presents, and with every demonstration of honor and respect. In one of his visits he mentioned the famous diamond. The King, for all answer, sent for the keeper of his jewel-office, and having commanded him to bring all the gems and jewels in his custody, together with his diary and register, he swore upon the Word of God, that these were all the jewels he was master of, and that he had not others(122). He at the same time

Crafty instruction given by Aoreng-zib to his Ambassador.

(122) This diamond, however, came from Haider-abad, and was in the Emperor of Hindostan's treasury, where it bore the title of Coh-n8r, or mountain of beauties or of lights. It has the figure of an egg, placed upon its broader end a little flated, and is the same which was seen in 1670, by Tavernier, who valued it at twelve millions, which at fifty livres the mark, makes twenty-four French millions of to-day (1786), or a million and-a-quarter sterling. Its weight is two hundred and eighty-four carats. The fellow of this diamond came also from Haider-abad, and was registered under the title of Deria-i-n8r, ocean of beauties or of lights, being a diamond cut table-ways, and weighing three hundred and two carats. These two diamonds were each of them Field-marshals or Generals of two armies of diamonds, each of them commanded by its Field-officers, &c.; for such is the expression in the records. Both these Generals were carried away prisoners by Nadyr-shah, from whose jewel-office General Coh-n8r was stolen long with a pillow, covered with Colonels, and other officers of rank; and this was done by Minass, an Armenian, who was one of that Prince's jewellers, as well as jewel-guards. The theft having been soon discovered, life was offered to the man, if he would restore the stone; but the Armenian, who suspected that a confession would only expose his family and thirteen children to ruin, without saving his life, and who knew that at all events it would enrich his family, pointed out to his children the place of his garden where he had buried it, and then courageously submitted to the supplice of fire. The eight sons went to Basrah after Nadyr-shah's death, and carried thither the pillow and the large diamond; there they made their shares in silence, and repaired to India, where they settled, from Basrah and Surat, up to Canton in China, eight very rich and powerful houses of trade. Kircor, the youngest, who alone had dared to take in his share the large stone, which the others

selected such gems as seemed to be of an uncommon bigness, colour, and water, and requested his presenting them on his part to his Imperial master; after which he gave him his audience of leave. The historian, Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, who wrote expressly of Aoreng-zib's life and wars, speaks in the following manner of this affair :—" *I have spoke several times to the Mirza, " after his return from the Court of Haider-abad, when he said " several times that, in compliance to his instructions, he had " made it a point to speak to the King of Haider-abad with so " much liberty and so much unbecoming freedom, as might " put him out of his guard, and excite his anger; but that so " far from his scheme taking effect, the King always took care " to speak in terms of modesty and deference.*" " *We are both " Monarchs,*" said that Prince; " *but yet I am willing to " acknowledge your master for my superior, and to be as his " dependant.*" The Mirza, laying hold of this expression, answered with warmth : " *That it little became him to talk of " himself as a Monarch, when mentioning Aoreng-zib the " Conqueror's name.*" The King, without losing his temper, replied with a smile : " *You mistake the case, friend Mirza-" mohammed. If you won't allow me the title of King and " Monarch, how shall you manage to call your victorious master, " King of Kings and Emperor?* "

Curious answer of the King of Haiderabad.

To return to our narrative. The Emperor, being arrived at B8rhanp8r, which is the first frontier of Decan, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, detached forwards a young nobleman whom he wanted to train to war, and whose military grade he then advanced. This was Sheabeddin-qhan, son to Kyludj-qhan(123).

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would not accept, being both unsaleable and dangerous, kept it full forty-two years, without ever uttering a word of it. In the middle of the Russian war, 1774, with the Turks, he carried it to Constantinople, without daring to do more than just to mention it; from thence he carried it to England, and lastly to Holland, from whence he sent a model of it to the Empress of Russia, Catherine the Second, who bought it for one-tenth of its value (a hundred thousand pounds sterling), and gave a pension of two hundred to the Armenian, on whom she also conferred nobility by a patent. The other diamond has never been heard of, and to all appearance is buried in some garden.

(123) This Kyludj-qhan, or Lord Sabre seems to be no other than Nizam-el-mulk himself, who was since surnamed Chin-kyludj-qhan, or the sabre-drawing Lord, and became one of the principal Generals of that reign.

He had orders to make himself master of some fortresses of the Marhatta country; and he gave him a good army and every necessary for a siege. His instructions were to follow the plan once traced by Shah-djehan, and to commence, like him, by taking the fortress of Rameh, as the easiest of all. He at the same time instructed Nik-nam-qhan, Governor of the fortress of Malhar, and Fodjdar of the Buglana, to advance towards the strong fortress of Salir, in which he was to gain admittance, if possible, without a siege, by opening a negotiation with the Governor and garrison. After these arrangements, he, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, quitted his Palace at Aoreng-abad, and advanced to Ahmed-nagur, where he encamped, and from whence he detached his son, Mohammed Ozm, to besiege that fortress, as well as to take possession of all the forts of the District of G8l-shen-abad, whilst Nik-nam-qhan should be employed in negotiation with the Governor of Salir. He, at the same time, dispatched his other son, S8ltân-Muâzzem, with orders to chastise the free-booter of Ram-derah, a valley contiguous to the C68can, and belonging to the House of Adel-shah. The Prince, being arrived before Salir, was going to open his batteries, and to attack the fortress; but Nick-nam-qhan, who had already opened a negotiation with the Governor, sent him word that, as his fortress would certainly fall before Aoreng-zib's victorious fortune, he had better spare him the trouble of a siege, as he would not fail in that case to represent his merits to the Emperor, who would make him ample amends for his loss. The Governor, sensible of the goodness of the advice, and persuaded that he could not stand a siege, made a merit of his submission, and surrendered his place; and in this manner the strong fortress of Salir came to hand without a formal siege. The keys were surrendered to Nik-nam-qhan, who carried them, together with the Governor, to the Imperial presence. The Emperor accepted the keys, and bestowed on the Governor the grade of five thousand horse, with the effectual command of three thousand.

The fortress of Salir surrenders to the Imperialists.

Hashem-aaly-qhan writes, that the Emperor, having in the beginning of his reign examined the lists of the pensioners and of some other people who enjoyed benefits from the treasury, whether of old standing or of new creation, confirmed all those grants, and made it a point to raise the incumbents successively

to dignities and offices, and also to superior pensions, as they came to be vacant; they enjoyed Djaghirs, besides many free lands; so that their situation was of the happiest. But at the beginning of this campaign, and whilst the army lay encamped at Ahmed-nagur, things took another course; and he who had hitherto constantly abstained from admitting Afghans and Radjp8ts in his service, as well as Cashmirians, especially those of the tribe of Check(124), now adopted another system. Obliged now to pass his life in countries inhabited by infidels, he found it his interest to gain the hearts of the Marhattas, and the subjects of the Kings of Bidjah-p8r and Haïder-abad; and he that disliked the Patans, and could not bear the presence of a Hindoo, now commenced to admit those of Decan in his service, and even to shew them some predilection; insomuch that even on any trifling service performed by them, they were sure of being raised to honours and dignities, much above their respective merits. On their turning Mussulmen, or barely taking service with him, or only siding with his forces, qhylaats, horses, elephants, jewels, as well as grades and dignities were lavished upon them, without reckoning surnames and titles of honour. These men, whether rewarded with Djaghirs in lands, or with Djaghirs in ready money, were so much caressed, that their rents and pensions never suffered more than three, or at most four months delay; and great connivances were shewn them in the collections of rents, until at last it was found that all the new conquests had been swallowed up in Djaghirs to the new comers. Moreover, as the Djaghirs of these were upon the spot, and most of them greatly under-rated, they had it in their power to bribe the penmen and heads of offices to much connivance, or to procure good protectors and friends; whereas the old servants, and even those bred in the Imperial household could hardly support themselves; and thus, whilst new men, whom no body knew or had so much as heard of, were living in affluence and prosperity, ancient dignitaries, and ancient servants of the Imperial family were so far neglected for want of

(124) All Cashmirians are reputed bad men in Hindostan, and there is a proverb that runs thus:—" *Bengali Djendjali, Cashmiri bi piri,*" the meaning of which is that there is no disentangling one's self from the double dealing of a Bengali, but that a Cashmirian always acted like an Atheist.

protectors, as to be ejected from those Djaghirs and possessions of theirs, which were far off; and this was the case with the greatest number, that is, with an infinity of persons; whilst others were sure of never recovering the balances due to them. It was even remarked, that the Emperor, on being presented every sixth month with the list of the pensioners and Djaghir-holders, used often to write at the bottom of it that a pomegranate was indeed an excellent remedy, but that it would never suffice for a hundred men; so that whenever he had to dispatch military officers, or to appoint to dignities and honours, he used to strike out a number of small Djaghirs in order to make up a large one, an expedient that ruined by the sword of the pen an infinity of people of middling stations, whom it turned out of their accustomed subsistence.—This is what Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi says. *Let us now return to the thread of our narrative.*

Sheab-eddin-qhan, who had been sent to take the inconsiderable town of Rameh, and who, with the army and artillery with which he had been furnished, and the character he bore for bravery and conduct, ought to have taken it by insult, found, on his arrival, matters very much altered from the account given him. The Governor Simbha was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. This man, who had for all artillery only three guns out of order and very old, but chanced to be master of a great deal of timber, contrived a number of wooden ones, which he covered with leather and which he planted everywhere upon the ramparts; and these he never made use of but when an attack or an escalade was actually going on against his walls, at which time they fired once, and presently were unfit for further service, but they answered the purpose of keeping in awe an enemy that knew nothing of the secret. This Governor, by such a contrivance, and many others of the same kind, found means to protract the siege, and to so much art and contrivance he joined so much firmness and so much bravery, that Sheab-eddin, with his army and artillery, could not prevail. The siege drew to a length. The Emperor informed of this, sent to his assistance Cassem-qhan, an able and prudent General, avide of glory, and desirous of being employed. The new General went very briskly to work, and gave several assaults; but which were all repelled by the Governor, who seemed

Strange artillery contrived at the siege of Rameh.

equally proof against open attacks and secret practices. At last the famous Qhan-djehan-cocaltash was sent thither; and repeated attacks were made, and assaults given, and all to no purpose. Qhan-djehan, repulsed everywhere, betook himself to the following expedient: He ordered a number of troops, supported by all the sutlers and followers of the army, to present themselves with great cries, as if with intention to give an assault, by which they would draw the attention of the garrison to themselves. He at the same time prepared a number of ladders, and a body of four hundred picked men, whom he encouraged by the promises of a high pay and several rewards. Their business was, as soon as the garrison should be taken up with the false attack, to advance silently to the foot of the wall, plant their ladders, and mount, unperceived, and before the garrison could think of them. Unfortunately the Governor, who had spies in camp and kept a sharp look-out, was informed of the whole scheme; and he counteracted it exactly in the same manner. He appointed a multitude of soldiers as well as useless people in opposing the false attack, but reserved a select body for the particular attack intended to take effect. These he ordered to squat themselves all along the parapet, and to hold themselves ready with certain iron hooks, made of five branches of that species called *Râih*, in Decan, and *Bagh-T8ia*, or Tiger's-paw, in Hindostan. Each of them, besides his spear and long sword, was furnished with one of these engines. They were directed to squat on the ground close to the parapet, and to observe so profound a silence, that the besiegers should not suspect there was a soul there. At the appointed time of the attack, two young men, who marched as the forlorn hope, advanced to the foot of the wall, planted their ladder, and got up, being followed by others upon the same ladder; the same activity was made use of at the other ladders. But as soon as a certain number had got nearly to the top of the wall, those of the garrison, that waited but for them, got up at once from their hiding places, and tearing up with one hand the turbants of those that had reached the wall, gave them with the other so many strokes of their engine as tore hideously their heads and faces, and overthrew them all down the wall, over head and heels. These, by their weight, brought down those that were

yet upon the ladders; and the whole of them being now sprawling on the ground, presented a dreadful scene of mangled faces, and broken legs and arms. This stratagem of the besiegers having failed, another was set up; and this was of the supernatural kind.

There was then in camp an impostor, who had acquired much renown throughout the army, by incantations and conjuring up spirits. This man, having found means to introduce himself to Qhan-djehan, had the daringness to propose to him a new and strange way of taking the fortress. He obtained that he should order him a snake of gold, of about one hundred tolas weight(125); and putting on a certain dress made of Bulgar-leather(126), stuffed with cotton, he got upon a lofty scaffold of wood, made on purpose for the occasion, and commanding the troops to mount to the assault, he commenced giving a variety of motions to his snake, and singing, and crying, and invoking his familiars. He had promised that at the end of his incantations, the fortress would be taken. Whilst he was agitating his body in such a frantic manner, a ball of stone, discharged from one of the wooden guns upon the wall, struck him in the stomach; and the man, tumbling down with his snake and leather dress, broke his arm and leg, and thereby put an end to the attack. This expedient having failed in this manner, and the siege having been already protracted to so irksome a length, the Generals grew tired of it, and went away, having first changed their dress to prevent their being known; they at the same time set fire to the scaffold they had raised close to the wall. On sight of this, the besieged cried out from the walls, "*Stay until the whole is consumed, and then you shall rub the ashes of it over your*(127)*faces, and shall then retreat properly accoutred.*" Simbadji, the Marhatta Prince, hearing of this vigorous defence, sent the Governor a Qhylaat of high value, and a pair of bracelets, of those called *Caras* in Hindostan: they

Strange contrivance of the besiegers.

(125) More than three pounds weight, English.

(126) Russian Leather.

(127) This alludes to certain criminals in India, who have their faces besmeared with ashes. Some Fakirs, likewise, as having renounced the world, and as sinners, have their faces and bodies besmeared with ashes. Some, however, have their faces besmeared with lime, as well as their whole bodies.

were of gold, and weighing each half a seer(128). He at the same time drew him from that inconsiderable fortification, and gave him the command of one of the strongest fortresses in his dominions.

We find in authentic records and histories that the S8bah, *alias* Kingdom of Bidja-p8r, stretches to more than three or four months journey in length, and to full two hundred cosses in breadth. Its revenue, in the beginning of Sekender-adel-shah's reign, who was dispossessed by Aoreng-zib, was of two corores of h8ns (pagodas), that is, seven corores of rupees: an extent of dominion which was so far reduced and so ill administered by his Ministers, that when he lost his crown, his possessions did not extend beyond a revenue of seventy lacs of rupees a year. This event took place in the twenty-ninth year of Aoreng-zib's reign, answering to the year one thousand and ninety-six, of the Hedjira. Azem-shah, one of the Emperor's sons, was appointed to the command of that expedition, and he received from his father a number of Generals renowned for valour and conduct. Roh-ollah-qhan was a principal of them, at the head of twenty thousand horse. To him was joined Séyd-abdollah, an ancient servant of S8ltan Muázzem's; he commanded a large train of artillery, with a body of two thousand horse. It was at that very time the Emperor had already dispatched Qhan-djehan at the head of a large army and a great train of artillery, with orders to invade the territory of Haider-abad, to which he had already given the name of the "Theatre of Sacred War." Séyd-abdollah, after some skirmishes, arrived before Bag-tana, which he was preparing to besiege, in expectation of being soon joined by S8ltan Azem. But as there subsisted a great disunion and misintelligence between the two brothers, S8ltan Muázzem and Azem-shah, the latter wished that no mention should be made during the siege of any officer

(128) A pound weight, English. But this is one-half of the metal used for the Bracelets, become ordinary these twenty or thirty years in Delhi and other parts of Hindostan; those of the legs are twice as big. Those countries being endlessly involved in civil wars, and perpetually plundered, it has been judged expedient to accustom women to run away, and to make long journeys with a great deal of property about themselves. Heretofore, half a pound weight disabled a girl from walking.

belonging to his elder brother; and as he knew Séyd-abdollah to be a man of an heroic valour and a determined soldier, he sent him word underhand, that he might have him for his friend, if he would but attach himself to his person, or, at least, forbear to call his trenches by the name of S8ltan Muázzem's. But as that officer had consented to be of the expedition, on the encouragement given him by Roh-ollah-qhan, his ancient friend, the same proposals were sent to this General likewise. It happened that all this insidious negotiation produced no effect. Séyd-abdollah rejected the proposal with indignation; and Azem-shah, shocked at the refusal, sent word to the besieged, that they might with safety fall upon Seyd-abdollah's trenches, as they might depend upon his not being supported, or at least upon his receiving only such an assistance as would be effectually defeated by a variety of contrived delays. When the message arrived from the Prince, it happened that Séyd-abdollah was actually leading an attack against the walls. His artillery made a fire superior to any thing throughout the whole army, and he was himself the foremost amongst his troops; but he was repulsed, and besides many other soldiers, he lost two hundred and fifty men, mostly of Barr, all his countrymen, and all men of distinguished characters and bravery, and all personally known to S8ltan Muázzem; he lost also two war elephants. Seyd-abdollah was descried from afar rallying his disordered troops, and leading them again to the charge; and his undaunted countenance struck so much terror amongst the besieged, that they were going to cry for quarter. It was at this moment that Azem-shah sent Roh-ollah-qhan, in appearance to support that brave man, but in reality, to manage so as to bring some disgrace upon him, and upon the other friends of S8ltan Muázzem's. Roh-ollah-qhan, obliged to submit to the times, and to humour the Imperial Prince, advanced to Séyd-abdollah, and advised him to forbear so infructuous an attack; and this officer, on observing how the wind blew and how coldly he was supported, recalled his men, and returned much dispirited to his quarters. On the commencement of the attack, intelligence had come to Court, that Sëyd-abdollah had behaved greatly to his honor; and the Emperor felicited S8ltan Muäzzem on the event; but the next day's intelligence having ascertained that he had been

Aoreng-zib repairs in person to the siege of Bidjap8r.

repulsed with loss, he seemed incensed against both that officer and the Prince. Upon some further intelligence, he got information of the true state of affairs, and recalled to Court both Sëyd-abdollah and Roh-ollah-qhan. The former was reprimanded; and had not Roh-ollah-qhan interposed and obtained the Imperial pardon, for a miscarriage of which that officer was not guilty, he would have been disgraced with shame and infamy. This singular proceeding is reported by Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, as an instance of Imperial policy, and of knowledge of the world in Aoreng-zib.

Meanwhile Azem-shah was so straightened in his quarters by the Bidjap8rians, that he had infallibly been undone, had not Sheab-eddin-qhan, with his brother, Mudjahed-qhan, hastened to his assistance, with all the provisions and sutlers they had assembled, by beating both the Marhattas and the troops of Sekender-shah's. The above historian says that all the Prince's cavalry was starving, so that the very men of his household suffered hardships unavoidable, and perished with famine; numbers of them had subsisted on bones of dead animals pounded together with tamarind leaves(129), a food, which, wretched as it was, had now failed totally. Vast numbers perished from such unwholesome food, as well as from mere famine; the courage of the men was damped: but what is singular, that of the women proved unshaken. Djani-begum, Dara-shecoh's daughter, and now consort to Azem-shah, who lived in camp, but was kept at some distance from it, having had her quarters attacked by a party of the enemy, she quitted her covered chair, and getting upon a war-elephant, she pushed forwards on the enemy; she had thrown away her veil, was shooting arrows incessantly, and encouraging both officers and men to do their duty, and to exert themselves manfully; and she was repulsing the enemy vigorously, when assistance came from the main army.

As to the convoy brought to camp by the two brothers, Sheab-eddin and Mudjahed-qhan, it was attacked in its way by forces twice superior to theirs; and here the two brave brothers,

(129) They eat in India the youngest leaves of the Tamarind, or rather Tamar-hind, in Arabic, (Indian fruit), a very large tree whose juices are sweet, but whose fruit and leaves are extremely acid.

concluding that the Imperial army would be undone unless it was immediately assisted with provisions, resolved to perish on the spot, or to carry their point. They both joined together in pronouncing over themselves the office of the dead; their principal officers did the same, and, mounting again like men that had taken leave of this world, they rushed upon those numerous troops, and did so much havoc amongst them, that they forced them to retire in disorder, leaving full liberty to the convoy to repair safely and without further loss to Azem-shah's famished camp. The Prince, on Sheab-eddin's making his bow, took him up, caught him tenderly in his arms, dressed that officer in the very dress which he himself then wore, and loaded him with honors and favors. The Emperor himself, hearing of this signal delivery of his son and army, exclaimed aloud, "*May "God Almighty preserve for ever Sheab-eddin, with his family "and descendants, in the same manner as that brave officer has "preserved the honor of the Djagâtai-family and throne!*"(130) He at the same time augmented his grade by a thousand effective horse, changed his name, gave him the title of the Victorious Champion of the Law, Ever Successful(131), sent him a very obliging letter with many rich presents, and decorated in the same manner that officer's brother and his principal officers. But as, meanwhile, the siege of Bidja-p8r seemed to draw to a length, the Emperor himself, on the twenty-ninth year of his reign, turned his victorious standards towards that capital. Being arrived in its neighbourhood, he detached S8ltan Muázzem to the assistance of his younger brother, Azem-shah, and got that Prince accompanied by the flower of his army, commanded by officers of great renown and approved abilities; such as Roh-oilah-qhan, and Sheab-eddin-qhan (now styled Ghazy-eddin-qhan), and some others; and every one of those heroical men set out with a firm intention to exhibit such feats of valour and ability as might do honour to the Emperor's choice. But S8ltan Muázzem, who preferred policy and prudence to open force and bloodshed, commenced, from his post at Shah-p8ry gate, a negotiation with the garrison, offiering them full safety

(130) Djenghis-qhan was of the Djagatái tribe; and Timur, the founder of the Hindostani Empire, drew his origin from him.

(131) Ghazi-eddin-firoz-djung.

for their honour, property, and lives, if they would quietly surrender the place. The younger brother, informed of an affair that would have redounded intirely to his elder's honour, wrote to the Emperor, "*That he was treating with the enemy* "*on his own account, and seemed to roll great projects in his* "*head;*" and in this malicious insinuation he was joined by some Commanders averse to the S8ltan Muázzem. Roh-ollah-qhan himself, who was attached to Azem-shah, gave his evidence against the unfortunate Prince. The officers of the police in the army joined in those depositions; and Shah-c8ly, a favourite servant of S8ltan Muázzem's, who used often to resort to Sekender-shah within the city of Bidja-p8r, was seized as he was coming back to camp, and arrested, and then sent to the Emperor. That Prince at first spoke to him mildly, and exhorted him to give a full information of whatever he knew, as the safety of the State was interested in it; the other denied that there was any criminality in his case. Orders being given to torment him, he was scourged, and in the middle of that torment, he promised to disclose every thing he knew; and he, accordingly, accused not only the Prince, but also numbers of other persons, who, he said, were equally privy to his designs. Some of these were M8min-qhan, the second astrologer, Mahmed-sadyc-qhan, Bendrabun, Divan to the Prince, and Sëyd-abdollah of Barr. The Emperor, on this deposition, sent for S8ltan Muazzem to Court, and complained much of the ungenerosness and folly of his conduct. The Prince was confounded and speechless; he then denied Shah-c8ly to be in his service; but the assertion answered no purpose. And Sëyd-abdollah, after all the heroical feats of valor and conduct he had exhibited heretofore at Haiderabad, and of late at Bidja-p8r, was disgraced and confined, with many others. S8ltan Muázzem was neither disgraced, nor had any of his offices or revenues taken from him: but he was neglected, and fell into contempt. Roh-ollah-qhan, who had heretofore interceded for Sëyd-abdollah, was ordered to keep that officer in his custody.

Meanwhile the siege had been protracted to the beginning of the year thirty of the Emperor's reign, which answers to the year one thousand and ninety-seven of the Hedjrah; and the inhabitants and garrison of that great capitals being deprived

so long of all necessaries, an infinity of men and animals perished with famine; forage and provisions were sold for their weight in gold. In this extremity Sherzeh-qhan, a principal Commander in Sekender-shah's service, asked for a parley, and was admitted to a composition for his master. That General brought the keys of the city to the Emperor, who ordered Sekender-shah into confinement. It was in this manner that a fortress that had stood like that wall of Ascander-makedon's(132), at last submitted, and the chronogram of the date was comprised within the above words. The Emperor, on receiving notice of this important surrender, gave orders by a note in his own hand to the analyst, Sheh-hedaïet-kish, to insert it in his annals in these words: "*This fortress came to my possession by the repeated efforts of that worthy son of mine, the sincere, the faithful Ghazi-eddin-qhan, the Ever Successful in War.*" And it is observable that this conquest was announced in those very words in the Imperial letter written to Emir-qhan, the famous Governor of Cab8l, with whom the Emperor was pleased to keep a correspondence.

Bidjap8r, reduced by an horrible famine, surrenders.

The Monarch, after the conquest of Bidja-p8r, resolved to finish the campaign by taking the city of Haider-abad, in the territory of which he had already, long ago, and so early as the beginning of the expedition against Bidja-p8r, sent a number of troops with orders to ravage and ruin the open country; but his suspicious temper had made him change these troops several times, together with their Commanders, as we shall soon have occasion to mention. This was the state of things at that period in that neighbourhood. But Bidja-p8r being now conquered, and his mind made easy on that head, he bent all the strength of his genius and all the power of the Empire on the conquest of Haider-abad, to the territory of which he now gave the surname or title of *Dar-el-djihad*, or theatre of the sacred war. It is this theatre of a sacred war which the religious Emperor, that champion of religion and law, was going to besiege with an army of half Mussulmans, and half Infidels and Pagans.

(132) Ascander-makedon, or Alexander the Macedonian ordered a wall to be raised in order to shut up against the Turks (for the word *Scythe* is of Greek extraction and is not known in the East) the passage of two leagues, which is betwixt the Caspian Sea and the mountain Caz (Coh-caz, words which have been *grecanised* into Caucazus), and this passage closed up, is so called to this day, *Der-bend*.

But before we enter on our narrative, it is proper that we should mention in few words what were the circumstances of that city and country, a little before the Emperor's arrival. That Prince, on sending Azem-shah towards Bidja-p8r, had dispatched the valorous Qhan-djehan towards Háider-abad, with orders to make himself master of some towns and fortresses that might straighten that capital, and render subsistence difficult. That General was accompanied by several officers of character; such as his own nephews, Sefder-qhan, Iredj-qhan, and Fidái-qhan; amongst which were likewise some Gentoo Commanders, the principal of whom was Mohcum-sing. On hearing all these preparations, S8ltan-ab8l-hássen, King of Háider-abad, ordered his Generalissimo, Hibrahim-qhan, to march against the enemy with some of his most approved Commanders. Qhan-djehan, meanwhile, being arrived at Mulker, was joined by Perviz-qhan and Djan-nessar-qhan, two Generals who were already on the spot, where they had come several times to an engagement with the enemy. Hardly was the junction effected, when he found Hibrahim-qhan, the Háider-abadian General, at the head of thirty thousand horse before him. A warm engagement ensued, which was followed by daily skirmishes, and always with a deal of blood-shed. But as the Haider-abadian General received several reinforcements from his rear, his army came to be of fifty thousand strong. With these he surrounded Qhan-djehan's troops, penned them up in a camp, and repeated so often his attacks, that the Imperial army was nearly undone, had not its General ordered a fossé and an intrenchment to be drawn round it. But still he was blockaded; and for a month together nothing was to be seen but daily skirmishes, with now and then a bloody engagement. At the end of that month the enemies seemed to have made a pause, when, on the third day, at a time when the Imperial army was off its guard, and its General was playing at dice, they appeared at once, as if with intention to make a general attack. Qhan-djehan had just time to mount, and to send his two sons, with his nephew, Iredj-qhan, against the enemy. To these he added the Hindoo Djat-sing, with a general order to march by the right; to the left, he sent all the Afghan and Radjp8t Commanders, with the troops of their own nation. He had hardly time to make these

Siege of Haider-abad.

Several bloody battles about that Fortress.

dispositions and to mount, when, the Haider-abadians, having crossed the ditch and got over the intrenchment, forced the barricade of chained cannon that lined it, and fell upon the Imperial army, killing and wounding every thing in their way. Sheh-minhadj, one of their bravest Generals, attacked Sipahdar-qhan and Himmet-qhan, two sons of the Imperial General's, who were both supported by Djagat-hara, by Sherzeh-qhan-lô8dy, and by Rostem-qhan; at the same time the Generalissimo enemy, supported by Beri-hat-qhan, rushed upon Qhan-djehan, and filled that whole wing with slaughter and confusion; whilst another body was attacking the Radjp8ts and throwing them into the utmost disorder. In this confusion Sheh-nizam, another Háider-abadian General, found means to rush upon the rear, and to overthrow every thing in his way. The Imperial army, commanded by valorous Commanders, stood its ground everywhere, but everywhere with a great loss. Himmet-qhan, Sefder-qhan, and the Bondela-djesvent were wounded in several places. Himmet-qhan's Amhari(133), in particular, had its boards so stuck with arrows, that it looked like a table studded with an infinity of pins set upright. That Commander, although wounded and in an Amhari, aimed at from everywhere, kept firmly upon his ground, but he sent to his father for assistance; and the father, who stood his own ground with great difficulty, answered the request by recommending him to God Almighty's protection. At this moment Beri-hat-qhan, a Commander of renown amongst the enemy, having assembled a number of select horsemen of various denominations, fell upon Qhan-djehan, and pushing forwards, he shot an arrow at that General. The latter having caught the arrow with his hand, put it to his bow, and shot it with so much justness at his enemy, that it disabled his hand. Nevertheless, victory was inclining to the side of the Háider-abadians; and matters were so desperate, that it became doubtful whether a single man of the Imperial army would be saved. Matters being so cirtically circumstanced, assistance came from an unexpected quarter. There were at a distance some elephants in rut, which had been made fast to some trees with ropes and chains, to keep them under some controul. The drivers, thinking that the blind fury of

The Imperialists nearly defeated, receive an unexpected assistance from some elephants in rut.

(133) A throne upon an elephant, capable of containing two or three men.

those animals might be turned to some account, let them loose, after having put upon their tusks an iron chain of about three hundred pounds weight. No sooner were these animals let loose, than one of them having singled out that terrible Beri-hat-qhan himself, advanced straight to him. The Afghan, who was a stout vigorous man, trusted to his own strength so far as to rush upon the elephant, with his spear couched; but the animal, which had in its way to him killed, wounded, and dismembered a number of horses and men, keeping its eyes fixed on Beri-hat-qhan, gave him such a blow as killed him on the spot. The animal, after this achievement, continued to advance, dealing deadly blows around, and trampling under foot whosoever stood in its way. This strange combat between armed men and elephants in rut having afforded Qhan-djehan's troops time to take breath, they advanced upon the dismayed Háider-abadians, who now fell into confusion and retreated on all sides, unable to stand the fury of the elephants. The opportunity was ably seized. They were charged on all sides, and obliged to fly in great disorder; and victory remained to the Imperialists at last. The General, in his letters to the Emperor, ascribed this victory to a particular interposition of Providence, and demanded succours and a strong reinforcement. The Emperor sent to his assistance his eldest son, S8ltan Muázzem, with a strong body of veterans, and a number of Commanders inured to wars and dangers. These were Yticad-qhan, son to Assed-qhan the Djumlet-el-mulk(134), Merhamet-qhan, son to Namdar-qhan, and some others. The junction being made, Qhan-djehan proposed to attack the enemy, and at day-break he quitted his intrenchment. But he had hardly advanced three cosses, when he was met by the Háider-abadians, who, advancing fiercely to the charge, singled out that part where the General was himself, with the Imperial Prince Muëz-eddin, and on the first outset, killed some elephants and some hundreds of men both cavalry and infantry; advancing beyond the Imperial artillery, they spread terror and confusion throughout the whole army. Sëyd-abdollah, of Barr, who had been released from his confinement, sensible of the consequences of such a

(134) The Greatest of the State, is the translation of those three words. This Assed-qhan was the Vezir of the Empire.

disorder, advanced at the head of a body of troops with Radja Man-sing; and both exerted themselves so bravely, that they brought the enemy to a stand. The engagement ended and recommenced for three days together, costing the lives of an infinity of brave men on both sides. Victory at last declared for the Imperialists. The enemy was discouraged; and his troops fled and took shelter within their camp. Thither they were pursued by Sëyd-abdollah and some of the most ardent Imperialists, who declared that now was the day to put an end to the war. The General objected; but it was nine o'clock at night, when he returned to his camp; from thence he wrote the next morning an account of the whole affair to the Emperor, in hopes to have merited, as well as the Prince, the Imperial applause, which, in fact, he so richly deserved; when to his surprise there came a letter to camp, which instead of the merited encomiums, contained the most severe reproaches both against the General and the Prince, for having put an end to the pursuit and returned to camp. This letter confounded them, and filled their hearts with grief. They became dispirited and negligent; and although the Haider-abadians, instead of coming henceforward to a regular engagement, contented themselves with some skirmishes by day, and some firing by night, nevertheless, both the Prince and the General, exasperated at the Emperor's ingratitude, refused for four months together to fight them any more, contenting themselves with repelling their attacks. This neglect affected the Emperor so deeply, that he sent to camp a letter in his own hand, full of the bitterest complaints. To the General, in particular, he addressed this verse of his own:

Thou Morning Zephyr! all this is of thy own bringing.

On this afflicting letter, the Prince assembled his best Generals, read the contents in their presence, complained much of the usage he received, and asked their advice about what was to be done next. The General, with most of the Council, being extremely incensed and dispirited, voted against a battle; but Sëyd-abdollah, with two or three Radjp8t Radjas, proposed to attack the enemy. Both parties persisting in their opinions, the Council broke up without coming to a determination. After their departure, Sëyd-abdollah observed to the Prince privately,

that the General being an old friend and acquaintance of the Emperor's, might possibly take the liberty of giving way to his resentment; but that it was neither safe nor decent in him to resist any more the Imperial commands. He added, *that as the enemies seemed inclined to a peace, conscious of their weakness, now was the time to fall upon them, and giv them a total defeat. If,* said he, *the General takes the van under his command, I offer to lead the main, and if he chooses to command the main, I offer my services to lead the van; otherwise, let any of the two Imperial Princes take the command of that van, and I offer to lead under him, and to deserve his good opinion.* S8ltan Muázzem did not declare his opinion; but he sent word to the Haider-abadian General, "That the "Imperialists having fallen under the Emperor's displeasure for "their long inactivity, they were now resolved to afford satis-"faction to that Monarch, by giving a total defeat to the enemy, "unless they chose to prevent it by timely suing for peace; "the more so, as such a party would prove equally advantageous "to both sides, and seemed to be the only one that could "procure the Imperial forgiveness on Ab8l-hassen's misde-"meanors(135), and on them all. That should they make a "cession of the Fortress of Bëyrem, and of all the districts "on the frontiers, already conquered by the Imperial arms, "he would endeavour to represent this cession to the Emperor "in such a manner, as would not only procure a forgiveness "to Ab8l-hassen, but also render him an object of favor in "the Imperial mind." The Háider-abadian General was himself inclined to a peace; but on his making the proposal in a council of war, in which assisted several Generals, and especially Sheh-minhadj, and the Brahmin Rostem-rão, with some others who breathed nothing but war and battle, they all unanimously answered, *that the Fortress of Bëyrem, as well as the districts in question, hung at the point of their spears, or stuck at the edge of their sabres; and that whoever had a mind to them must conquer them sword in hand, and not with messages."* This was all the answer that was returned by the enemy;

(135) The person whom the Imperial Prince chooses to style only Ab8l-hassen, is no less than S8ltan Ab8l-hassen, King of Haider-abad. But this slight expression was become of etiquette.

and these men, after having been for sometime very slack and and remiss, now became so active, that they were incessantly firing musketry and rockets against the Imperial camp, which they approached so near, that a rocket fell within the women's apartment in the Prince's quarters, as he was going to sit down to his dinner; and it overset a qhöan, or table, carried upon her head by one of the female attendants. Not content with that, they were firing incessantly with the new artillery they had received from Haïder-abad, and threatening the Imperialists both with the voice and with the hand. The Prince, shocked to see himself eternally braved, resolved to fight; and he came out of his intrenchment with that intention. The order of battle was the same as before. The command of the van, or Aräol, was given to the Prince Muëzz-eddin and to Qhan-djehan; the Chendäol, or main battle, was given to Sëyd-abdollah; and the other Generals were placed as they came in the Djeran-ghaz and Beran-ghaz, or right and left wings(136). S8ltan Muëzz-eddin himself took his post in the Col, which followed the main body. He had with him Qhoadja-abol-mucarem, and some other officers of distinction, and he seemed resolved to come to a decisive engagement, be it ever so bloody. The Haider-abadian Generals on their side made their arrangements according to the motions of the enemy. They concealed or buried great part of their heavy canon; and dividing their army in three bodies, they opposed one to the enemy's van, another to his wings, and a third, the most numerous of all, which was commanded by their most determined Generals, to Sëyd-abdollah and his troops. In this order they were advancing like a mighty inundation, swelled into waves by a rising wind. The cries of *kill* and *maim* in a little time filled the air, and every one seemed intent on nothing but killing and wounding. No such bloody battle had been fought all along this war, but the Haider-abadians seemed to have the superiority. The Prince Muézz-eddin, supported by Himmet-qhan, son to the General, and by Assed-qhan and

(136) It is observable that although the text is Persian, nevertheless all these military words are, in the Turkish, the original language of Timur, or Tamer-lang, since whose time they have remained in the Court of Hindostan with some others; for instance, the word *Atlan* (be mounted), which is carried round to the horse-guards, when the Emperor is going to mount his elephant

some others, was making the greatest efforts. At last Séyd-abdollah, after repeated attacks, was observed to gain ground on the enemy, and this engaged both wings to advance. But yet the battle that had commenced at day-break, seemed to be undetermined so late as at twelve o'clock. It was only after that time that the Háider-abadians were observed to be in confusion, and at last to quit their ranks and to fly on all parts. The Prince Muézz-eddin, availing himself of the opportunity, followed close after them, and was going to enter their camp, when he received a message from Sheh-minhadj, one of the most valorous Commanders of the enemy, in these words:—*We do not see in the history of former times, that noble Princes and generous Generals have waged war with the women and families of their enemies, or that they ever attempted to dishonour them by any defilement. Respect is due to women. Let strife and slaughter be amongst men only. Stand off a little until we have secured our wives and honor, and let the rest in camp be yours.* The Prince admitted the plea, and repressed the ardour of his troops for full two hours; in which interval the Háider-abadians found time to load their wives and families upon whatever they could meet,—carts, camels, elephants, or horses,—and to carry them out of the reach of danger. In the afternoon, the truce being expired, they appeared again in several compact bodies, and gave a battle still more bloody than the last. But it must be acknowledged, that they were vigorously received; both sides exhibited proofs of a determined courage, and an infinity of brave men perished on both sides S8ltan Muâzzem, in particular, had two elephants killed under him. In the enemy's army, Sheh-minhadj, a valorous Commander, was severely wounded, together with Rostem-räo the Brahman, and some others of their most adventurous officers. Nevertheless, they found means to wound Bendrabun, the Prince's Divan and Prime Minister, and to carry him away upon his elephant. But Séyd-abdollah, thinking that the capture of the Prince's Minister would cast a stain upon the character of those that fought with him, ran after them with some Radjp8t Princes, and rescued the man, and brought him back. Whilst he was performing this service, the consort of Gháiret-qhan, the Paymaster-General, was struck by a musket-ball upon her elephant, and fell senseless

together with a waiting-maid; but the number of common soldiers, or of people of no consequence, slain in this furious action, is incredible. Both armies sustained a mighty loss. However, the Háider-abadians, having stood their ground so late as the evening, now disbanded, as soon as it grew dark, and they fled every one of them to Háider-abad, but not, however, without dispatching in the evening a message to Prince Muazzem, proposing, *That, instead of sending every day to the Kingdoms of Nothingness such vast multitudes of Mussulmen, a number of Generals from both sides should advance between the two armies, and fight together for superiority; and that whichever party should have the advantage, it should be final for both armies.* This proposal was rejected, the Prince being sensible that the Háider-abadians being from their youth trained to the management of the pike and spear, would infallibly have the advantage. In the morning intelligence coming that the Háider-abadians had disappeared from the field, the Prince ordered the music to strike up, in token of victory; and giving up all thoughts of pursuing the enemy, he marched straight to Haider-abad.

The Haider-abadian Generals propose a combat between twenty of theirs and twenty of the Imperial officers.

As the Prince was approaching, Madina the Brahman, Prime Minister and confidant of the King of Haider-abad, found means to render suspect the conduct of his General, Qhalil-ollah-qhan, *alias* Hibrahim-qhan, as if he were of intelligence with the enemy, and the King became so convinced of it, as to conceive the design of arresting and putting him to death: but the General informed of that resolution, went over to the Prince, and was received with kindness and distinction. His master hearing of this desertion, concluded himself lost, and his affairs desperate; and without giving notice of his resolution to any one of his Ministers or friends, without affording himself time to carry away his consort and family, he fled to the Fortress of Golconda, which is at a few miles from Haider-abad, carrying with him some chests full of gold and jewels. It was at about one o'clock in the morning. The unfortunate inhabitants of Haider-abad being thus forsaken, gave themselves up to despair. The Prince arrived at this moment with his army; and such a scene ensued on that ill-fated city, as seemed to have anticipated for it all the horrors of the Day of Judgment. Some thousands of people

of the better sort, having no time to provide carriages, or any other conveniencies, took their wives and children by the hand, and without minding their being without a veil, and without a mask, they brought them out to public view, and carried them to the foot of the fortress, leaving the whole of their property behind, without so much as taking the value of a straw from it. The King had already done so himself. His Palace, ready furnished, his wardrobe, his elephants, horses, jewels—all were left behind. The analysts write that a vast wealth to the amoun of five or six corors, was plundered and made away with, by the robbers and thieves that abounded both in the city and camp, and this too sometime before the army could come up. Rich merchants and wealthy bankers, who lived these many generations in that city, without having ever seen so much as a tumult, were stripped of their all, and reduced to beggary in a few moments. For those that were jealous of their honor, abandoned both houses and property, and were only busy all night in carrying their consorts and families to the castle. At day-break the army arrived, and a general plunder took place; and as it was a very rich city, and every market and every street was full of goods, merchandise, money, and precious things, the plunder was immense, and that unfortunate city seemed to undergo by anticipation its condemnation at the Day of Judgment. The number of defilements committed that day, as well as the multitudes of nobles and plebeians, whether Mussulmen or Gentoos, that lost their consorts and children, are matters known only to Him for Whom nothing is hidden, and such as no pen can describe. Preserve us, O merciful God! as well as all your adorers, from such days as these! The plunder and sack was going on yet, when envoys came from S8ltan-ab8l-hassen, supplicating forgiveness for the misdemeanours which their master could not have committed. But the Prince was already exerting himself for putting an end to the pillage. Touched with the cries of the unfortunate, he had mounted, and was actually driving away the plunderers, and endeavouring to appease the tumult. In fact, it subsided a little; but the city was already undone by this time, and the people ruined, remained ruined. Nor is the merit of this ruin to be attributed to any but to Aorengzib himself, who by this time has doubtless been called to an

account for such a general devastation. The Prince, on the intreaties of the King's envoys, restored to him his dominions, under the promise of his paying a present of one hundred and twenty lacs, over and above the usual annual revenue. He also directed that Madina the Brahman, together with his brother, Inganna, who were the causes, if not the authors and machinators of all these troubles, should be turned out of their offices, never to be re-admitted, and that the Fortress of Bëyram should be added to the Empire, with all the districts already conquered. On these conditions the Prince became an intercessor for the King of Háider-abad. But this forlorn Monarch, although inclined to set aside Madina, could not however part with him in such a time of trouble and confusion. Some of the principal men of his Court, however, shocked that he should still adhere to those two Brahmans, to whom they ascribed all the misfortunes of their country, made application to Mah-djani, the principal consort, who bore an absolute sway in the harem, or seraglio, as well as on Ab8l-hassen's mind; and having obtained her consent, they put both the Brahmans to death, without giving the least notice of it to the King, their master, and then sent their heads to Soltan Muázzem. The latter, seeing that the principal of the Emperor's commands had been complied with by this execution, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled, sent the two heads to his father. That covetous man, on seeing the heads, dispatched Saadet-qhan, a nobleman of his own breeding, and who had been Divan to Qhan-djehan, with orders to receive the money stipulated, together with some arrears that were due. But, meanwhile, he expressed his resentment against that General, as well as against the Prince, but especially against the former, for the lenity shewn to the city of Háider-abad and its King. He wrote to him a severe letter, and recalled him to Court; nor did his former and late services save him from the Emperor's resentment. And as there were in the army several young Lords, like Yticád-qhan, Assed-qhan, and some others, who exerted themselves in every occasion, whether in a day of battle, or in executing any Imperial order, and were on that account so many objects of favor, he made it a point, in every letter to the old General, to extol their conduct and merits at his expense. In one of those letters he wrote with his own

The two Brahmans put to death.

hand, *That whilst youths, whose mouths still smelt of milk, had approved themselves on every occasion zealous, and of the utmost alertness, he, who had grown old in his service, had shewn himself neglectful and indifferent.* These reproaches incensed the General, and the comparison irritated his discontent. Shocked at such a want of gratitude, he resolved to quit the camp, and to leave it to those young men to range armies in battle, and to dispose the operations of a campaign; and from that moment he gave himself up to a life of sloth and inattention.

Just at this time, some ungrateful and traitorous Lords of Ab8l-hassen's Court, who had been gained by Aoreng-zib's promises, or were prompted by their own perverseness, came in a body to the Emperor, and proposed to him to take possession of Háider-abad. The Emperor granted them a body of troops, and sent them to S8ltan Muäzzem. But whilst war and peace seemed both at a stand and confounded together, Abdol-rezacqhan of Lar, one of the Commanders that stuck yet to the King of Háider-abad, and had of late been appointed to watch the motions of the Imperialists, coming to hear of the approach of that succour, fell upon it, and killed or took prisoners two or three of the Imperial Generals, committing also some slaughter amongst the troops that composed that re-inforcement, which not being apprised of its danger, and at too great a distance from the Imperial army to receive any support, was easily overpowered. For the Prince, finding that provisions grew scarce in the neighbourhood of that capital, and that nothing was yet determined as to war or peace, had thought proper to retire at a distance; so that he was now encamped at Ghur, and the army thus at a distance, had been of late weakened by the disgrace of those two heroical men, Qhan-djehan and Sëyd-abdollah, whose numberless important services could not save them from a total dismission, after they had been, as well as the Imperial Prince, severely reprimanded for the lenity shewn to the King and city of Háider-abad. God preserve us, with all the faithful, from such ungrateful masters!

The siege of Háider-abad, meanwhile, drawing to a length, and both the Prince and Qhan-djehan being deemed guilty, Abed-qhan, son to the victorious Ghazy-eddin-qhan, was sent both to command the army and to exact from the Prince the

Pishcush, or the présent, he had stipulated with the Háider-abadian King; in a little after both the Prince and Qhan-djehan were re-called—the first to live with the Emperor his father; the second to render an account of his conduct. His ill luck was such, that the very day he chanced to arrive at Court, a quarrel arose between his people and those of Muázzem-qhan, father-in-law to the young Prince Cam-baqsh; it was in setting down both their palekies in the yard of the Imperial quarters. A great tumult ensued; and the noise reaching the Emperor's ears, he sent Qhan-djehan out, with the slave-boys of the Palace, to appease the tumult, and to drive away Muázzem-qhan's people. The General, who was already afflicted at the reception he had met with from the Emperor, and who made no account of Muázzem-qhan's bravery, or military talents, no more than of his services or birth, when compared to his own, had no sooner seen to what a height the tumult had already risen, and what disorders it had caused, than he ordered the market street and the sutlers of this Lord to be plundered and stripped; and this order, having been literally executed, shocked the Emperor extremely. The Monarch, to punish the General, sent him to an expedition on the other extremity of the Empire. It was to take the Fortress of Sansi, in the Djatt country, which service having been expeditiously performed, he soon returned to Court, where the Emperor, already disgusted with him, for the imperiousness of his temper, deprived him of all his offices, as well as of all his Djaghirs; and the poor man finding himself fallen at once in all the distresses of proverty and want, pined away and died of a broken heart. Let sincere and candid readers judge from this example, of what kind were the politics of that Prince, and let them conjecture what must have been his notions of gratitude, his principles of Government, and his particular turn of mind! His unworthy acknowledgment of the services rendered by his son, and his shocking treatment of two such meritorious heroes, as Qhan-djehan and Séyd-abdollah, whom he confined and vexed in a variety of manners, speak for themselves, and require no proofs or commentary.

After the conquest of Bidja-p8r, and the circular letters sent throughout the Empire to announce that acquisition, the Emperor, under pretence of visiting the monument of Séyd-mohammed-

ghiss8-deraz(137), or the long-haired, sent his equipage forwards; he at the same time wrote to Saadet-qhan, the Sezavol(138), to take care to send to the presence the money promised by the King of Haider-abad. Two or three months before, he had so far complied with his son's request, as to send that King a dress of honor, as a token of approbation of the treaty concluded. The dress and jewels were sent; but all the world knew it to be only a snare intended to lull that unfortunate man asleep, and to put him off his guard. For at the same time, he wrote to Saadet-qhan that the Imperial standards would certainly advance to the walls of Haider-abad; but that meanwhile he ought to recover from Ab8l-hassen as much of the promised money as he could, by whatever means, and that his zeal and abilities would be measured by his success in bringing that affair to a completion. That officer, on this order, pressed the King of Haider-abad so much, that the latter expressed his surprise at so much rigour; when the other informed him that the payment of that money would prove the only means of obtaining his pardon from the Emperor. The King answered, that to find so much ready money after such a long war would be impossible; but that he had jewels of high value, and that their amount would go a great way towards discharging the debt. He at the same time sent him nine Qhoans or tables covered with loose gems, to which no price was fixed, but which had been separately weighed, put into bags of fine linen, and sealed. He had likewise sent a message to request his keeping these jewels for two or three days as pledges, in which time he would endeavour to find out as much ready money as he could; and that at that time his keeper of the jewel-office would wait upon him to fix their respective values; after which he might send both the money and jewels to the Emperor, together with a supplique particularising the "submissive manner in which Ab8l-hassen had executed "the Imperial commands, and his hopes that His Majesty "would be pleased to grant him a full receipt and discharge."

The author resumes the Siege of Haider-abad.

Artful management of Aoreng-zib's.

(137) Ghiss8-deraz, he in effect wore very long hairs that trailed to the ground; nor is such a length of hair uncommon amongst Fakirs, who wash it with a lixivium that disgusts all vermin, but hardens the hair, lengthens it, and gives it the appearance of a dirty red.

(138) Sezavol, the Enforcer.

This supplique was backed by some baskets of fruit for a Imperial dessert. Saddet-qhan, who had been bred in Aorang-zib's school, and was as cunning, faithless, and artful as his master, sent the baskets of fruit to the presence, but joined to them the jewels lodged in his hands as pledges; and two or three days had elapsed already, when the unfortunate King received certain intelligence that the Emperor had set out from Calberga, and was marching to besiege the fortress of Golconda. The intelligence was become public. Ab8l-hassen, confounded at this piece of news, and sensible that he had nothing to hope from the Emperor, sent word to Saddet-qhan, "That his intention "in despoiling his consort and family of their jewels, and in "stretching every nerve to find out some money, was to soften "the Emperor's heart in his behalf; but since His Majesty seem-"ed bent on the ruin of an unfortunate Prince, the former "agreement ceased of course; and he therefore requested the "return of the jewels, as there remained no hopes at all of any "favour or commiseration from the Imperial benignity." Saadet-qhan answered, "That being compelled by an Imperial order "to urge payment, and uninformed of His Majesty's intention of "coming this way, he had sent to the presence both fruit and "jewels, the latter sealed as he had received them; and that as "a zealous attentive servant of His Majesty's, he could not act "otherwise. That this matter being already over, he had no-"thing to offer in atonement at this present unexpected juncture, "but his own head and life, both which he would be glad to "sacrifice for the Emperor's service." This answer of Saadet-qhan's having produced some more messages, and replies, people were sent to his lodgings to bring the boxes of jewels from thence; and as a sharp dialogue took place on that subject for two or three days together, Saadet-qhan sent a last answer in these words: "I acknowledge, Prince, that you are in the right, "and that my conduct has been artful; but in this I have acted "by order; for it had become incumbent on me, as I valued my "own safety, to comply punctually with my instructions; and "now, become your culprit, I have nothing to offer you in atone-"ment for the perfidy of my conduct, but my own life. Take it, "then, if you like it, and afford that handle against you to a "man who is seeking this longwhile a pretence to ruin you and

" your family. Else, so long as I am alive, there will remain " hopes of my being able to soften the Emperor's heart, so far, " as to make him alter the resolution he has set out with; and " it may be expected, that sensible of the lenity shewn me, I " shall be constantly employed in obliging and serving you." This singular speech made a singular effect on the King. Pleased with the man's readiness to expose his own life for his master's service, and with the frankness with which he acknowledged his fault, the King thought proper to abstain from offering him any injury. He even came to admire his zeal and magnanimity, and sending for him, he applauded his devotion to his master, made him a present of a dress of honour, and added to it a Djemedher, or Decanian poniard, studded with jewels, as well as some other valuable presents.

By one of those chances for which no human conjecture can account, this very day happened to be one of those in which Ab8l-hassen used to converse with learned men and divines, and mention was made of the Emperor's zeal for religion, and of the regard he always shewed to learned religious men. This observation was glanced at by the learned men then present, who observed, " That his ordering his people to cut the throats of so " many fine horses sent him by the Emperor of Iran(139), and " their flesh to be distributed to the poor, might be reckoned as " a token of his hatred to heresy, but was no great proof of that " zeal for religion, which so strongly recommends to repress and " keep under controul the passions of the heart and the effusions " of anger; and they added, that had the value of those horses, or " the horses themselves, been distributed to the poor, they would " have been the better for it, and the intent of liberality had been " better fulfilled." Luckily for the Emperor that Saadet-qhan was present. This officer, equally ingenious and brave, undertook to answer for his master's behaviour on that occasion; and he did it in a manner equally subtle and rational. " He acknowledged " that in the manner in which that action of his had been mis- " reported, it must of course have fallen under the animadversion " of men of sense and good nature, but that the fact had in " reality happened in the following manner; nor had any order " been given to cut the throats of those horses,—it is only a

The Emperor's fanatical conduct ingeniously defended by his envoy.

(139) Shah-soltan-soleiman, King of Persia.

"groundless report: The Emperor was reading the Coran, "when those horses were brought to his sight. His Majesty, "pleased with their appearance, wanted to bring to a pause "his accustomed quantity of reading, and to put it off for "another day; but at that very moment, his reading lead him to "that part of the Holy Book, where mention is made that Soléi-"man, son of Dä8d(140), (upon whom be peace and grace for "ever!) having been presented with some fine horses, paused in "his prayers of ecclesiastical precept, and from pause to pause "he slipt likewise over the time allotted to the preformance of "prayers of Divine precept(141); upon which it was revealed "to him, that he must order those horses to have their throats "cut. The Emperor having gone throughout that chapter, "thought the contents addressed to himself, and to keep his own "concupiscence under controul, he imitated the action of Saint "Soléiman (on whom be peace!), and ordered the horses to be "slaughtered. Let the uninformed world, added Sadet-qhan, "say as it shall please; the fact is exactly as I have related." The Doctors, having quietly heard the report, observed that, "If "the fact had really happened as it was just now reported, how "came it that the horses were sent two by two to the doors of "the Iranian Lords in the Imperial service(142), and slaughter-"ed there?" Saadet-qhan answered, "That this was also a "groundless report, which had been much embroidered by the "malignity of an uninformed public; and that the fact was as "follows: Shah-djehan-abad being then a new city, there were "Persian Lords lodged in every quarter of it; and as slaughter-"ing the horses in one single place might have occasioned a "crowd and some tumult, whilst the poor of the next quarter "would have remained without their share, orders were given to "slaughter the horses in every quarter, two by two, that every

(140) Solomon, son of David.

(141) The prayers of the Mahometans are to be pronounced five times a day, at stated times precisely; nor is it lawful to postpone them without some urging necessity. They consist of several genuflexions, prosternations, and recaats, or couples of chapters of the Coran. Some of these recaats are repated of Divine precept, and some are instituted by the Church. The former cannot be dispensed with; the latter may upon an emergency.

(142) Those Lords were all of the Shyah sect, as well as the Emperor of Iran, or King of Persia.

"one might enjoy a share of their flesh without tumult(143)." Such was the turn which the envoy gave to this strange affair; but the Emperor informed of this conversation by the *Gazette of Haider-abad*, was exceedingly pleased with Saadet-qhan's ingenious solutions, and he wrote him an obliging letter full of applause; after which he marched straight to Haider-abad. Ab8l-hassen confounded at this sudden intelligence, wrote a very respectful letter to the Emperor, where he mentioned his having submitted to every condition imposed upon him by the treaty, and his readiness to execute any further commands that should be laid upon him. This letter was drawn up in a very humble style, and sent by an able speaker, who had orders to spare no submission and no supplication that could sooth the Emperor's mind. And, in fact, he spared nothing in his power, but could not prevail on the innate malignity of the Emperor's heart. He answered, that his reply would be

(143) As there is much Tartarism remaining in Delhi, where there is a whole quarter called Mogul-p8ra, which contained fifty thousand T8rani inhabitants, horse-flesh is reckoned a dainty; and in the Ramazan, which is both the Mussulman's Carnival and Lent, they feed much on horse's flesh; but the Day of the Sacrifice, they never fail to slaughter horses, in compliment to their own cravings, and camels, in compliance with the Prophet's custom and taste. The truth is, that the horses were slaughtered out of spite to the Shyah's sect; and that Saadet-qhan's narrative is only an ingenious apology, in which he has made an artful use of a passage of the Coran. For the fact is as follows:—The Emperor, on ordering those fine horses to be slaughtered, said, it is true, *that to receive presents from an heretic was sinful*; but he also had another reason. The Ambassador he had sent to the Court of Iran, and who had brought from thence a Persian Envoy and some fine presents, informed his master of the following particulars: Shah-soltan-soléiman (the King of Persia), who was very fond of wine, and fond of uttering extempore verses in his cups, having heard the Indian Ambassador design his master by the expression, *Aalemghir*, Conqueror, could not help giving way to his vein for sarcastical verses, and he bolted out immediately: *Aalemghir! Is it then by turning murderer of his brother, and jailer of his father, that he has acquired that title? Or is it by eating much cheese that he is come to strike money in his name?* For Aoreng-zib, who lived only on vegetables, was very fond of cheese as well as kichery; which last is the usual fare of poor people, and a mess of boiled rice and pulse, mixed together.

Burader C8sh, Peder-ghir,
C8dja Shudi! Aalemghir!
Sikkesedi be serb Peinir.

Which last verse was but a sarcastical parody of that other put upon Aoreng-zib's coins, struck in Decan.—*Sikkezedi be serb Shimshir*—it is by dint of sword, he has been enabled to strike money.

delivered to Ab8l-hassen by a sword and a spear; and forgetting that himself had kept in prison his own father, his own respectful children; that he had put his brothers to death, (brothers become his prisoners of war; brothers reduced to a state ot the highest distress), and had served in the same manner a poor friar, a Fakyr, for no other reason than that he seemed too much affected by his friend, the prisoner Prince's death; unmindful that he had covered all those crimes, and all the artifices of a continual double dealing with the cloak of religious zeal (a cloak become now a public object of banter and detestation); unmindful of his having verified in his person the sentence of the Holy Book: *You recommend virtue to others, and neglect it yourself;* he published a manifesto, setting forth what he called Ab8l-hassen's crimes. The purport was, "That although the life of that wretched was one "continual scene of shocking shameful actions, nevertheless it "became proper to mention one in a hundred, and to shew a "sample out of a heap. That, first of all, he had appointed for "his Prime Minister an infidel, a pagan, a man equally crue, "and covetous, who carried an iron rod over the heads of so "many Séyds, so many Shehs, so many Musulmen, so many "venerable learned men. That he was publicly addicted to all "kinds of lusts, even to those of the most ugly and unnatural "kind. That his days and nights were spent in drinking and in "a crapulous debauchery, that had disabled him from distin-"guishing Paganism from Musalmanism, oppression from justice, "and profligacy from piety and good morals. That he had of "late entered into strict connections with that Western Pagan, "Simb-ha the Marhatta, to whom he had very lately sent one "lac of H8ns(144), notwithstanding the exhortations and re-"presentations of a number of grave religious men that had been "sent him to put a stop to those connections, and to recall him "from an alliance so repugnant to the Word of God. That "all the effect produced by those remonstrances, was only to "put him upon precautioning himself, by filling his ears with "the cotton of pride and neglect, and by addicting his time to "a course of crapule and debauchery against the remorses of "conscience and the thoughts of eternity."

Aoreng-zib manifesto against the King of Haider-abad.

"A fine thought this! and a curious expedient!"

(144) Pagodas That man spoken of so slightly here, is not less than Simba-dji, the Marhatta Monarch.

Such a manifesto having convinced Ab8l-hassen that there were no hopes left of pacification, he turned his views towards making a proper defence; and he sent orders to his bravest Generals, Sherze-qhan, Sheh-minhàdj, and Mustepha-qhan, *alias* Abdol-rezac, the Larian, to be upon their guard, and to fight the enemy. The Emperor meanwhile being arrived within two days' journey of Haider-abad, thought proper to encamp; when some troops of the enemy's having just shewn themselves, returned to their main, which was at a great distance from the Imperial army. However, even the efforts of that whole army of theirs could make no great impression upon the Imperialists, who were ten times their number, and furnished with an immense quantity of artillery and stores. But whilst the Emperor was encamped at two days' journey from Haider-abad, news came that Sheab-eddin, *alias* the victorious Ghazi-eddin-qhan, who after the conquest of Bidjap8r had been detached to besiege the fortress of Hibra-him-gur, was coming to the presence, in compliance with an Imperial command, after having sent forward a golden key, with a relation of the capture of that fortress. At these news the Emperor decamped, and marching directly, he took post within one coss of the fortress of Golconda. On his arrival, the Imperialists were attacked by the Haider-abadians, who after having performed as much as could be expected from their small numbers, retired again to their camp, at a distance from the Imperialists. Ghazi-eddin-qhan, arriving after this engagement, was preposed to the operations of the siege. He ordered mines to be sunk, dam-damas, or lofty cavaliers of earth and timber, to be raised, and trenches to be dug; so that the business of killing and wounding was regularly established. It was on this occasion that Abed-qhan, father to Ghazi-eddin-qhan, on passing by a mosque, where the holy words, "God's Victorious Lion," were engraven(145), attempted to efface them with the point of his spear, and directly had his hand carried off by a canon-ball; a wound of which he languished two days, and which carried

Siege of Golconda, by Aoreng-zib.

(145) This is a title given to Aaly by the Shyas; and as it was going to be effaced by a Sunni, no wonder that a Shyah cannon-ball should have been sent, of course, to take off the sacrilegious hand.—The Author of these remarks, being himself upon the spot, in 1759, remembers to have seen these two verses on the black marble of the door of that very Mosque :—

him at last to the dreary desert of Nothingness. Meanwhile, and whilst the siege was vigorously pushed forwards, Ab8l-hassen, who had always experienced Soltan-muazzem's commiseration and lenity, applied again to that Prince; and after having opened his way by a respectful message and several rich presents, he requested him to intercede again in his behalf with the Emperor, and to supplicate His Majesty to forgive his crimes and misdemeanors, imputed or real. The Prince himself, who saw with a jealous eye the honor which the capture of such a fortress would confer both on Azem-shah, his younger brother, and on Ghazi-eddin-qhan, his favorite, was willing to snatch so much glory out of their hands, by precluding their further progresses by a sudden peace with the Haider-abadian King. He therefore kept some correspondence with the besieged; but this intention of his having been soon perceived by the Prince Azem-shah, by his favorite, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, and by some other Lords as great time-servers as himself, they joined their concerns together, and made such a report of that correspondence to the Emperor, as intirely alienated his mind from his eldest son, from his learned consort, N8r-en-nessa-begum(146), and from all the officers personally attached to them. Unfortunately for these disconsolate persons, there happened just at this time an event that totally estranged the father's mind: The superintendent of S8ltan-muazzem's household, as well as the superintendent of the women's carriages and quarter, joined together to represent to the Prince, that the besiegers being so very forward, and making continual sorties, it was to be feared lest they should some day or other turn their steps towards the quarter of the Prince's consort, it being at such a distance from the army, and thereby fully the lucid eye-ball of the Imperial honor. The Prince answered the request, by ordering the Princess's tents,

Soltan-muazzem, eldest son to the Emperor, is disgraced for attempting to manage a peace between the Emperor and the besieged King.

Mei-qhor, Mus-haf S8z, Atesh ender Caaba Zen, Sakyn-i-b8t-qhane Bash, Merd8m azari m'kon.

Drink wine, burn the book, set the caaba on fire, live in a temple of idols, but never do wrong to man—a distich which contains the whole of a treatise on Ethicks and is now spread all over India.

Quod tibi vis, jubeas aliis, hac formula legis.

(146) N8r-en-nessa begum, *the Princess glory of her sex.* She was extremely beautiful, learned, and tenderly attached to her husband. We have some verses of her making.

with all those of the ladies, to be brought nearer to the head-quarters, and of course nearer the besieged. So small a matter as this was taken up by Azem-shah and by his favorite, as well as by their whole party, as a mighty object. They gave notice to the Emperor that the Prince, who had this longwhile entered into connections with the besieged, was taking measures to retire with his family within the fortress; and the Emperor, who prided in his keenness of understanding and penetration, swallowed such a coarse report, without ever reflecting that if the Prince was really in such a criminal corrspondence with the besieged King, he had no need of shutting himself up with him; he had only to send for the enemy's army of observation, and after joining it with his own troops, to fall at once upon the Imperialists. Such as was this report, it made a deep impression upon the Emperor's mind, and it kindled his resentment into a flame; and as the Prince's two principal officers had been of his own training and recommending, and he reckoned on their being still attached more particularly to their ancient master, he sent for them in secret, and put an infinity of questions to each of them apart. These were the superintendent of the Prince's private apartments, and the Eunuch Quoadja-abdol-mucarem. Promises, threats, lofty tone of voice, soothing expressions—all was made use of, and produced nothing. Both those men agreed in answering separately, " That they knew no other intention in the Prince, " but that of obtaining a pardon for Ab8l-hassen, and making his " peace; or at least of engaging him to surrender the fortress upon " terms; by either of which operations, he expected to reap much " honor and glory for himself. They added, that being acquainted " with nothing more, and firmly believing the Prince to be inca- " pable of what was imputed to his charge, they could not think " of joining his accusers in a self-evident calumny." The unanimous answers of these two men, and their firm countenances and tone of voice, did not make any impression upon the Emperor's obdurate heart, and rivetted suspicions. Sending for the Imperial Prince, who was a man of so ripe an age(147), and of so much merit, and moreover his own eldest son, he ordered him into a rigorous confinement, as we have already mentioned. The Prince's learned and faithful consort, their children, his family,

(147) He was then forty.

eunuchs, favorites and dependants, not one of whom would quit his master, were all dragged with insult and ignominy, vexed in a variety of manners, and kept in close confinement for a number of years together. The Emperor confiscated all his equipage, which he joined to his own, degraded him from his military rank of forty thousand horse, broke and disbanded his Brigade of seven thousand effective troopers, with each of them two and three horses, and resumed his Djaghirs, or appanages, which he gave in payment to his troops. It was remarked that, on the first day, his order was to confine the Prince's consort, without touching her property. Two days after, the order was altered; and a certain decrepit eunuch, very ugly, very choleric, and very unguarded in his expressions, was sent with orders to take away the Princess, just in the dress he should find her; in which condition he was to carry her with contempt and ignominy into a tent just big enough for the prisoners, and there she was to be close confined, after having been deprived of all her clothes, furniture, and jewels, not excepting those she might be found to wear actually; and those were expressly restricted to those at her arms, and ears, or over her clothes(148). The eunuch having spoken roughly to the Princess, the latter, without losing her temper, cast a disdainful look at him from head to foot, and said: "*I look upon the Emperor to be my father. These jewels, these honors, this respect are all of his own bestowing. Let him take them back again; I have no objections. But how can it become thee to talk to me in that new manner?*" The eunuch having taken fire at this language, the Prince's sister, then present, interceded for the prisoner. But he paid no attention to her intreaties; and he ordered his prey to be carried away, directing that she should receive no more victuals and no more clothes than what were absolutely necessary.

The Emperor imprisons his eldest son.

(148) This enumeration is a striking proof of the Musulman or Indian delicacy in whatever concerns women; for the Princess, according to custom, atually wore jewels at her neck, some of whom hung between her two breasts; another piece of jewel descended down her navel; her drawers were made fast with a cordon fringed with pearls, and her legs and feet were likewise adorned with anklets and rich rings. But not only it would have been an atrocious indecency in a stranger to lay his hand upon any of those parts, or even upon her bare skin, but shocking in the Emperor himself to mention her drawers in his order. That word is never mentioned in enumerating a lady's dress.

The Prince himself underwent a similar treatment, and it became daily more rigorous. After a length of time he received a message, advising *him to confess his crimes and to shew his repentance, that his numberless sins and misdemeanors might receive the Imperial pardon.* The Prince, shocked to hear the word, crime, denied his having been guilty of any: and he answered, "*That although it was true that he must be guilty* "*of a variety of transgressions in the sight of an all-perfect* "*God, and of course in the sight of his father, who was His* "*shadow, and His representative on earth, yet that he was so* "*fortunate, as not to perceive in himself any such crime as* "*should excite so important a confession; and the more so,* "*as in fact he was not conscious of having committed any.*" This answer produced nothing but an addition of severity in the Emperor, and an addition of ill usage to the Prince. He was denied the privilege of having his head shaved, his beard trimmed, his nails paired; he was debarred from drinking cool water, eating warm bread(149), and wearing good clothes. A principal eunuch of N8r-en-nessa's was also confined, and his property confiscated; and to make him confess the charges brought against the Prince and Princess, he was put to the rack, and for some time was tormented in a variety of manners, but without it being possible to bring any thing out of his mouth but encomiums on his mistress and master, and complaints of the Emperor's unmerited severity. The Emperor, hearing that his case was become dangerous, and that he could bear the rack no more, ordered him to be dismissed. Mirza-shukur-ollah, better known in the world under the name of Shaker-qhan, maternal uncle to the Princess, was involved in her disgrace, and confined, together with three or four eunuchs more. The latter were tormented in a variety of manners, and on their confessing nothing to the purpose, they were dismissed. As to the different species of miseries suffered by the two illustrious prisoners and their families, they are more numerous and various than our imagination can bear, and our pen can describe.

Noble answer of the Imperial Prince.

(149) May God Almighty always bless you with warm bread and cool water! is a blessing commonly bestowed by parents upon their children, all over Persia and Hindostan.

We have mentioned that Hibrahim-qhan, Generalissimo to the King of Háider-abad, forced by his master's attempt to arrest him, and to put him to death, or possibly prompted by a principle of ambition, had fled to Soltan Muázzem, who had introduced him to the Emperor. The latter now thought proper to remember him. The transuge General was raised to the rank of seven thousand horse, and decorated with the surname of Muhabbet-qhan(150). Meanwhile, Ghazi-eddin-qhan was pushing on the siege vigorously; and the trenches by gaining a little every day, were far advanced, when they were at once attacked by Mustepha-qhan, *alias* Abdol-rezac, the Larian, and by Sheh-nizam, the Decanian. The two Haider-abadian Generals fell upon the trenches, and committed much havoc. Kishver-sing, pushing hard at the head of his Radjp8ts, was wounded, and fell from his horse; and a number of his men throwing themselves in the enemy's way to rescue him from their hands, were put to the sword. Some considerable officers of the enemies fell likewise; but although repeated efforts were made by the Imperialists to carry their bodies away, they were several times rescued by the Háider-abadians, who not only took them away themselves, but carried likewise the bodies of many notable personages of the Imperial army. This engagement proved very warm; nor was it without continual exertions and repeated efforts of that number of brave T8ranians and Iranians as well as Afghan and Radjp8ts, officers in the Emperor's service, that the enemy was repulsed and obliged to return within the fortress. In this siege of Golconda such extraordinary actions were performed by the besieged, as look fabulous, and yet have really happened. But as fortune did not favorise them, they all proved of no avail. Nevertheless, they greatly affected the Emperor, who now thought proper to turn his views towards gaining over to his party the principal officers of the besieged. These were plied with in a variety of manners: some were promised more extensive commands, and some were allured with brilliant dignities, extensive Djaghirs, and high offices of State. All, or almost all, yielded to these suggestions; and both to secure their persons and fortunes, and also to get out of the fortress,

Vigorous sally of the besiegers.

The Emperor debauches almost all the Generals of the besieged.

(150) The Lord Love, or the Loving Lord.

which they took to be an unauspicious abode, they all went over to the Emperor. Sheh-nizam himself, who had performed wonders in the last sally, deserted and came over. On his making his bow to the Emperor, he was honored with the surname of Mucareb-qhan, or the favourite Lord, decorated with the rank of six thousand horse, and the effectual command of five, and complimented with an appanage. Sheh-minhadj followed, with several other officers of note, and they were all as well as himself raised to high dignities, and complimented with offices and emoluments. The desertion was so great, that none remained with the besieged King but Abdollah-qhan, an Afghan, and Abdol-rezac, *alias* Mustepha-qhan, an Iranian of the city of Lar; and this latter remained faithful to the very last, for at last the Afghan himself deserted, and went away. In short, the only General that stuck to him to the very last day of the siege, who made such vigorous sorties, and contrived so many expedients to retard the capture of the place, (two articles which we shall mention briefly in the sequel), was this same Abdol-rezac the Larian. The efforts made by the besieged and their King, even after so many desertions, and the repeated defeats they gave the Imperialists—defeats that would have saved the fortress, had fortune been on their side—I have faithfully, although succinctly, copied from Naamet-qhan-aaly's history, without adding or detracting any thing from his narrative; nor is any thing advanced here, but which is confirmed, or virtually understood, by Hashem-aaly-qhan, the other historian, although he seems evidently to write with the greatest precaution. The siege drew to a length, and nothing was heard from both sides but a continual roaring of musketry, rockets, and artillery. The besiegers, however, had a considerable advantage over the besieged. They had plenty of those destructive machines called bombs; and the firing was so continual, and the smoke so thick and constant, that people came at last not to distinguish the day from the night; and not a day passed but some of the most forward amongst the Imperial Generals either fell dead, or were grievously wounded. After a month and some days' continual labour and slaughter, the trenches were brought close to the fossé, and the Emperor, informed of this, ordered his Taht-revan, or moving throne, to be carried close to the counterscarp,

where he took the legal ablutions, pronounced the office of the dead upon himself, made his death-bed prayers, and having sewn a bag of canvass with his own hands, he saw it filled with earth and placed properly; he also ordered cannon to be mounted on some new batteries. But the army, meanwhile, had suffered so much from want of grain and necessaries, that even men of property being emaciated, little could be expected from common soldiers. There is no describing the miseries they suffered. Vast numbers of them died of mere want. To all these distresses was joined, under the Imperial auspices, a mortality, that swept people by shoals. Numbers, unable to bear hunger and famine any longer, deserted, and went into the fortess; but some, being detected in favorising the besiegers, who had assisted them with victuals, were severely punished. Matters growing worse every day, the Emperor, to encourage the soldiery, sent a controrder to his son, Azem-shah, whom he had dispatched for quieting the Provinces of Odjéin and Acbar-abad. He was commanded to return to camp. Another important personage, Roh-ollah-qhan, a valiant General, and a wise counsellor of the Empire, who had been preposed to the Government of Bidja-p8r, was likewise commanded to repair to Court. But by this time the siege had lasted already three months, and it was at the end of so much time that Ghazi-eddin-qhan betook himself to the following expedient: Pitching upon the darkest part of a moon-less night, he got ready a number of picked men at the foot of the wall, who in a moment got upon the top of it. But the besieged having been awakened by the barking of a dog, killed all those that had got up, and overthrew the rest down the wall. The moment they were mounting, and some had already mounted, a Hadji-mehrab, (a man in favor with the Emperor, and who at that time was present as a spectator) ran back, and as soon as he discovered the Monarch from a very great distance, he commenced making bows of congratulation. The Emperor, who was then at his devotions on the carpet of prayer, chanced to pay as much attention to this report, and to those congratulations, as if they had been pronounced by the General himself; and losing his usual gravity and considerateness at once, he, without further inquiry, or taking any care to ascertain the report, made a sign for the Imperial music to strike

Famine in the Imperial camp,

An escalade miscarries.

up, ordered his Taht-revan to be got ready, called for a full dress, and was going to look at his new conquest; he even received the compliments of the whole Court. In a few moments intelligence came, that the engagement had proved contrary to expectation; that the besiegers had suffered a great loss; and that the General, forced to abandon his undertaking, had returned to camp extremely mortified at such a miscarriage. This affair threw a great ridicule upon Hadji-mehrab, and finally upon the Emperor himself. In the evening intelligence came, that the Haider-abadian King had honored the dog with a collar of gold, and a gown of brocade, and had ordered his name to be inscribed amongst his most faithful servants. But this was not the only miscarriage that befel the Imperial arms.

About the middle of Shaaban, the rainy season set in with such a violent storm of rain, as distressed the whole army, but did nowhere so much havoc as upon the men at the trenches, which it ruined intirely. The batteries, the scaffoldings, the cavaliers, raised by Ghazi-eddin-qhan's ingenuity, were all over set, and levelled with the ground. In the very heighth of the storm and rain, the General, Abdol-rezac, made a sally at the head of the bravest of the garrison, and overthrew everything in his way. The massacre and confusion were so great, that Selim-qhan-qhashy, who was reputed one of the bravest men of the army, flung himself in a miry-hole in the ground, and remained concealed; and Saf-shiken-qhan, who had greatly distinguished himself throughout the siege, and was already weakened by two wounds, finding what havoc was going on, dropped down in the water and mud, and kept himself amongst the dead. Djemshid-qhan, another officer of distinction, took to a corner, and in the darkness expected to escape, but he was discovered and taken prisoner. But Djelil, a slave-boy of the Emperor's, who had raised him to dignities under the surname of Serberah-qhan, was wounded and taken prisoner, with twelve officers of distinction. The Emperor hearing of such a disaster, ordered that seventy or eighty mountain-like elephants should be carried in the torrents occasioned by the storm, and served as so many bridges for the distressed to pass over, and especially for saving those of the trenches. The elephants were marched; but so far from being of any use, not one of them could stand the rapidity

Curious sally of the besieged.

of the water, so far from approaching the trenches; and Haiat-qhan, the superintendent of the elephant-office, after having spent the whole day and part of a night in fruitless attempts, returned to camp. Meanwhile, the victorious, tired with both the slaughter and storm, returned to the fortress, and presented their principal prisoners to their master. This Prince entertained them during four days together; after which he dismissed them all with the utmost civility and regard, giving a dress of honour to each of them, and complimenting Serberah-qhan and Ghairet-phan in particular, with each a horse besides. Before their departure, he desired Serberah-qhan to go round the fortress, and to take a view of the magazines of provisions, powder, ball, and every necessary to sustain a siege. The other, after a full survey, was amazed at the immensity of the provision; and on being dismissed, he was entrusted with a supplication and a message to the Emperor, both of the same purport. Abol-hassen made them swear by their master's head and life, that they would deliver them faithfully. But when the two officers arrived in camp, they met with a very cold reception from the Emperor, who seemed to look upon them with an evil eye. Ghâiret-qhan, who had the rank of a thousand horse, and the command of two hundred, was put at the head of a body of five hundred, and without being spoken to by a single word, he was sent to serve in Bengal, that is, sent in exile. Serberah-qhan was used more harshly. The Emperor observed that there was nothing strange in a slave-boy's running away from an engagement, and in his being taken prisoner; and he then deprived him of his grade, but left that *wretched* (for such was his expression) the command of four hundred horse he had. As to the letter he brought, it was treated with the utmost disdain and superciliousness. He would not so much as look at it; but sent it to be perused by the General Ghazi-eddin-qhan, with orders to make him a report of any thing in it that might deserve notice. Serberah-qhan, having seized that moment to represent that he had a message to deliver, was ordered to bring it at ten o'clock at night. at the head of His Majesty's bed. The Emperor being then in bed, both reports were brought forth, and found to be of one and the same import. The letter was as follows, and it deserves to be recorded :—" After all these

Amazing quantities of all necessaries in Golconda.

Noble and curious letter of the Haiderabadian King to the Emperor.

" hostilities, I still look upon myself to be one of your Majesty's " humble servants. If I have been guilty, whether knowingly " or otherwise, I have been abundantly punished; and now I " hope from the benignity of the Imperial temper, that the time " of forgiveness is come at last. Nor is my hope without " grounds; for on the supposition that the fortress is taken, " and your ever victorious Majesty should of course return to " your Imperial city, there is no doubt but that this country, " ravaged and ruined by a seven years' war, and become the " habitation of bats and owls, would be recommended to the " care of some one of your Imperial Court. What harm is there " in my being left to be that some one? There is no doubt but " such a one will ask for himself, for his troops, and for the " expenses of Government, more than the country is likely to " produce hereafter; he will ask a large sum likewise fo- " emergencies; and that overplus must be disbursed from the " Imperial treasury. What he shall ask, besides, for putting a " country circumstanced as this is in a state of cultivation, " cannot be an inconsiderable object, as such a sum and such " an expenditure must be repeated for seven or eight years " together, before the country can recover an air of population " and cultivation. Now such a preposed as your humble servant, " would save all those unavoidable expenses to your Majesty's " treasury; and nevertheless, he would continue to send to your " Imperial threshold, (that resort of the respects and homages " of all mankind) the same tribute as I used to pay to your " treasury in my days of dominion and prosperity. Besides " that, should my humble requests be granted, and your victo- " rious standards be prevailed upon to return towards Hindostan, " I promise that at every cosse which they shall measure, on " their return within the ruined dominions of this afflicted man, " I will pay into the Imperial treasury one lac of rupees; and I " will pay another such lac, as a nuzzur to your footsteps for " every assault that shall have been given since your arrival " here. Nor is it fear that can prompt me to such confessions; " it is with a view to put an end to all that effusion of Musulman " blood which has overflowed this country, and to enable the " faithful(151) of the victorious army to revisit their forsaken

(151) The King, by that word, understands those of his own sect, the Shyahs.

" homes, and to embrace and rejoin their forlorn families. Over " and above all that, should my humble request not prove for- " tunate enough to obtain the Imperial favor, and should it be " the Imperial pleasure that the victorious army should lose " some more time before these walls, I propose, in alleviation of " the miseries of the suffering Imperial soldiers, to distribute five " or six hundred thousand maunds(152) of grain which Djelil, " the slave-boy of your household, has seen in the magazines of " this place."

In answer to all these reasonable and advantageous proposals, the Emperor contented himself with saying, " *That, if " Ab8l-hassen was really so submissive, and so much his servant, " he had nothing more to do, but to come of himself to his pre- " sence, with his hands bound before him, or else to let the Im- " perial officers bring him with his neck and hands bound; after " which,*" added he, " *I shall act as my goodness shall prompt me.*"

This negotiation took up the whole night. The next morning, contrary to Ab8l-hassen's expectation, the Emperor dispatched an order to the Divan of the Province of Barar to forward to camp a variety of military stores, and in particular fifty thousand bags of canvas, two yards in length and one yard in breadth. A report of this order having been spread throughout the army, excited a general murmur, and even the common soldiers asked, " Where was the wisdom, where was the expediency, of sending " for fifty thousand empty bags to fill up the ditch, instead of " ordering them to be brought full of grain; after emptying " which they might answer equally well? And had he not " better accept the compassionate proffers of Ab8l-hassen's, " and save the remaining army from perishing with distress " and famine?"

But the Emperor, without minding these murmurs, enforced the order by a number of corz-berdars guards, which were sent with the letter. Meanwhile, on the nineteenth of Shaaban, notice was given the Emperor that the mines were loaded and ready, and the miners waited only for the order to set fire to them. On this intelligence, the Emperor ordered that the guards at the trenches, with a great number of other people, should set up a general uproar as for an assault, to bring the besiegers

(152) A Maund is about seventy-six Pounds Avoirdupois, English.

upon the wall, and that then only fire should be given to the mines. All this scheme produced nothing. The brave and sagacious General, Abdol-rezac, *alias* Mustepha-qhan, had guessed the mines, and taken care to oppose them by three countermines, which he pushed against the enemy by the means of the stone-diggers in the place; and he was so lucky as to find out the enemy's three mines, and to take away the whole powder of one of them, after having poured water upon the two others, and gutted them of as much powder as he could take away with safety. The people in the trenches having made their appearance as for an assault, raised a general outcry; and this having brought vast crowds upon the crest of the wall, the miners, who waited only for such a moment, gave fire to one of the mines. But as the powder of that part was entirely wet, and nothing good remained but what was on the side of the trenches, the mine had a retrogade effect, and blew up an infinity of men about the trenches who were ready to mount to the assault, as well as a vast number of spectators; it also filléd the trenches with rubbish, and it overthrew a great part of the parapet. This event happened in the year 1097, of the Hedjrah, a number which by a strange fatality happened to tally exactly with the number of men killed by that accident; and several of these were men of great characters. On the smoke ceasing, no breach could be discovered in the wall, nor any appearance like it, that might favour the troops ready to mount to the assault. So far from that, they lost courage, and fell into confusion; and this being soon discovered by the besieged, they fell upon the besiegers like a storm, and put to the sword everything they met in the trenches or in the environs. Assistance came, and after a great loss the trenches were at last cleared of the enemy, and filled with men again. And people were yet busy in counting the survivors, when the second mine was fired, and this likewise having had a retrogade effect, up flew an infinity of stones and clods of earth, which, by falling again, killed and wounded an infinity of people, whose screams reached the cupola of heaven; and this accident killed double the numbers that had been lost by the former. On sight of this, the besieged rushed out again, cleared the trenches, and did everything in their power to make themselves masters of the circumvalation, behind which the

Three mines of the besiegers have a retrogade effect, and kill an infinity of people.

whole army was encamped, and which had cost full six months' labour. The General Ghazy-eddin-qhan, seeing the consequence of what they intended, marched in person to oppose them. A scene of mutual slaughter took place, and notwithstanding every effort made to drive the besieged, they remained masters of the field; and here again the number of the slain proved equal to what the two former actions had cost. So many disasters, one after another, could not but kindle the Imperial anger. That anger, capable to set the world on fire, was kindled into a flame. He sent for an elephant, and mounting directly, was followed by all his Generals and Grandees, and by all the braves of the army. Being arrived at a place where the balls were whistling in every direction, he ordered his moving throne to be laid upon the ground, unconcernedly took his seat in it, and ordered the besieged to be driven back. Whilst he was speaking, one of his guards, who was laying his hand upon the throne, had it carried away by a ball of cannon; and this accident did not affect the Emperor. He took no notice of it, and without betraying the least concern or trepidation, he continued to give his orders, and to exhort his people to behave manfully. At this moment, the clouds opening, a violent rain fell, and prevented either the Emperor's victory or his defeat. In a moment the plain was covered with waves, as if it had been an open sea. A stop was put to all further operations, and very one, without purposing any thing else, thought only of seeking shelter at home. The works, the trenches, the batteries, those lofty cavaliers that seemed to reach the cupola of heaven—all that was overset, and the Emperor, wet to the skin as well as others, thought proper to return with his whole Court. At this sight the besieged, always intent on turning every opportunity to their own profit, rushed out of their gates, and falling upon the trenches, levelled them with the ground instantly; whilst others, finding in the mud those large guns that had cost so much money and time before they could be fixed upon the cavaliers, dragged some of them with a great deal of ease to the gates, and spoiled or rendered the rest unserviceable. They, likewise, carried away some thousand bags that had been filled with earth and thrown in the ditch. Amongst these was one that had been sewn by the Imperial

Curious sortie of the besieged.

The Emperor repairs to the breach, and behaves with the utmost intrepidity.

hands, and this also was carried away in triumph, and was with the others employed in mending the breaches of the walls. In this sortie the Imperial General did not spare his own person; he was everywhere, but to no purpose. Matters were past remedy. The Emperor's own elephant, a favorite animal(153), that had cost forty thousand rupees, after having greatly suffered from the rain, mire, and wind, was killed by a cannon-ball. That day also proved a blank one, and nothing at all could be done. The second day, the Emperor mounted early, and gave orders to fire the third mine. But no fire would take effect. Every one wondered at such an event; when some spies gave advice that the besieged had taken away, from within, part of the powder, had wetted the rest, cut away the saucissons, and rendered all that work of no use. The Emperor, confounded and afflicted at such a series of reverses, was obliged to return to his quarters, after having put up the assault for some other day. Every thing remained quiet for some days, as numbers of Generals and Lords had been wounded and disabled, and the Generalissimo Ghazi-eddin-qhan, himself, had received two wounds, which obliged him to remain at home, and to leave the operations of the siege to the Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, in compliance with the Emperor's pleasure. The Monarch, meanwhile, who made no account of Ab8l-hassen, whether dead or alive, settled a regular government at Haïder-abad, which city he ordered to be mentioned in the accounts and records under the name of Theatre of Sacred War. He appointed a Governor and a Divan or intendant in that city, established collectors and a revenue office, and instituted several Courts of Justice; and all that was done with as much unconcern and sang-froid, as if the Haïder-abadian King had never existed. Abd8l-rahim-qhan was preposed to take an account of the houses and inhabitants of

(153) Such a price for an elephant is a very extraordinary one; nevertheless, history has conserved the names and prices of two elephants much dearer, that had been bought by Shah-djehan, father and predecessor to Aoreng-zib; one, for one hundred and forty, and the other, for two hundred thousand rupees, and we have seen the portraits of those animals.--However, the ball must have been very large, or at least have struck the animal in the head or at the heart; for an elephant has been seen, who did not drop dead but after having carried in his bowels a ball of four pounds, during a journey of twenty-five miles.

that great city; and the Emperor hearing that Abel-hassen had permitted some sectaries to settle in the suburbs, and also had given vogue to some sects of Deïsts, he ordered these people to be driven away; and levelling their habitations to the ground, together with some temples of idols, he ordered a number of mosques to be erected in their stead. . ..

It was observed during the siege, that Saf-shiken-qhan, son to Cavam-eddin-qhan, very different in that from the other Iranian Lords in camp, had exerted himself in every occasion. Once a learned Iranian, who was his friend and companion, took occasion to observe, that there was in the place a multitude of Seyds of undoubted extraction, a number of faithful believers(154), and a number of learned venerable personages, who could expect nothing at his hands after the capture of the place, but captivity to themselves, and defilement to their families. "How "then," said the venerable man, raising his voice, "can you ac- "count to your own heart for all those efforts you are daily "making to undo these unfortunate people?" The man, unmoved by the expostulation, answered,: "He had done no- "thing but his duty, and would do it again; and that, were "Imam Husseïn himself within the place, he would not desist from "his endeavours to take the fortress." This answer of his soon went throughout the whole camp, where it was reputed a kind of blasphemy. The Emperor himself found fault with it, and spoke of the man with displeasure. His blasphemy was supposed to be a fictitious one, and to cover some intelligence with the besieged. He was disgraced, imprisoned, and his property was confiscated. In a little time, the Emperor, reflecting on his bravery, and on his meritorious services, took him into favor again, and gave him the office of Grand-master of the artillery, an office of importance, now vacant, and which had been refused both by Selabet-qhan and by others, who did not care to expose themselves to the Emperor's caprices. The Emperor, meanwhile, seeing how badly the siege went on, was intent on debauching the best officers and best servants of the besieged King; and as people are little inclined to fidelity in unprosperous times, most of the friends and Generals of that unfortunate

(154) The Author, a cankered Shyah, reckoned, for believers, only those of his own sect; and this illiberal turn of mind he betrays everywhere.

Prince quitted his Court, one after another, and were immediately complimented with brilliant dignities, high titles, kettle-drums, fringed palekies, elephants, horses, jewels, and djaghirs. Meanwhile, Sheh-minhadj, that valorous Commander of the besieged, having been accused of an intention to desert, was imprisoned; and there now remained none to Ab8l-hassen, of all his friends and Generals, but Abdol-rezac the Larian, and Abdollah-qhan-tirrin the Afghan. By this time the siege had lasted full eight months. But those two Commanders remained inviolably attached to the besieged King, and rendered him an infinity of services. Never did fidelity and zeal shine so conspicuously. Even these two men, so circumstanced, underwent an attack from the Emperor. An Imperial letter came to Abdol-rezac, conferring upon him both the grade and effectual command of six thousand horse, with several offices, titles, and dignities. The General, having read the letter with derision, carried it upon the crest of one of the towers, and after shewing it to the men in the trenches, he tore it to pieces, with every mark of contempt and indignation, and threw the pieces to the people below. Sending at the same time for the man, who had brought the letter, he gave him this verbal answer: "*Sir, tell "your master that this war looks, without comparison, like "that of Kerbelah*(155)*; and I hope, so long as I live, to exert "myself in behalf of my master, as did, to their eternal honor "and glory, those seventy-two heroes who stood by Imam Hussein, "and shed their blood in covering him with their persons "against those two-and-twenty thousand cowards who were not "ashamed to smite those valorous fellows, and to fight the Messenger's beloved grandson. I hope to imitate their fidelity "and courage, and to do myself honor both in this world and "the other.*" The Emperor, hearing this answer, said publicly,

The Haider-abadian King forsaken by all, except by General Abdol-rezac.

Heroical behaviour and unshaken fidelity of that General.

(155) Kerbelah, a town westward of Bagdad, where Hussein, grandson to Mahommed, having attempted with four thousand men, that joined his cause, to set up for Qhalif or successor, in opposition to Yezid, who then reigned over the immense extent of Musulman Empire, was defeated by the Governor of Basrah, abandoned by most of his people, and reduced only to seventy-two men, who as well as their master, perished mostly by thirst. It must also be observed that Aoreng-zib, with almost his whole army, was a Sunny, and that the Haider-abadian King, with most of his people, was a Shyah.

"*That wretch Larian's mind is of the homely kind;*" but in private he paid the highest encomiums to his fidelity, services, and unshaken attachment. And although it was in the decrees of Providence that the place should be taken at last, the siege lasted some time longer, as if to afford time to religious zeal, military talents, heroical valour, and unshaken fidelity, and to many other noble qualifications of both parties, to be put to the test, and to be weighed in the scales of discernment. So that the quantity and quality of merit in every Commander and every man present, came to be ascertained beyond a doubt. The thoughtless exertions of the Imperial Generals were also properly ranked; and a proper value set upon the Emperor's sewing a bag with his own hands, after having purified and washed himself according to law, and pronounced the office of the dead upon his ownself. The public rated properly that obstinacy which he manifested in digging trenches and filling ditches at an immense expense, and in sacrificing an infinity of innocent or meritorious lives to gain the possession of a heap of stones. Yet all that as well as all those assaults, intermixed with stratagems, availed nothing; and the place was at last taken without the intervention of either sword or spear, and barely by debauching, one after another, Ab8l-hassen's best Commanders and friends, and by giving in the face of the universe public and continual approbations to perfidy, ingratitude, and perjury. The event happened at the end of Zilcaad, in the year 1098 of the Hedjrah, by the underhand management of Roh-ollah-qhan (who had succeeded to the wounded Generalissimo). This General, by the means of Rostem-qhan-peni, an Afghan Commander in the Imperial service, opened a correspondence with Abdollah-tirrin, that famous Afghan General in the place, on whose valour and inviolable attachment we have hitherto bestowed so many encomiums. Even this man was gained by high offers. He commanded at the gate called the wicket; and, giving way to that perfidy that seems innate with the Afghan, and never fails to make its effects soon or late, he agreed to deliver the gate. At one o'clock in the morning, he set it open, and admitted Roh-ollah-qhan, who was accompanied by Mohtar-qhan, that Pagan of Saf-shiken-qhan, and the eunuch Qhoadjah-mucarrem, now Djan-nessar-qhan, every one of them

Golconda betrayed, surprised, and taken.

at the head of a body of choice troops. Other troops, finding the wall abandoned, mounted by the breach, and by a variety of means got up to the very top, being everywhere connived at by that perfidious Afghan. Whilst all this was going on at the wicket, the Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, was advanced to the gate, in expectation of seeing it open. For numerous troops had already poured in, and were busy in taking possession of posts ; at the same time a scream of woe, and a scream of desolation, such as that which shall happen on the Day of Judgment, rose at once from the inner apartments of Ab8l-hassen's ladies, that the place was taken, and every thing lost. This scream was echoed by some other seraglioes in the neighbourhood. It was these screams that awakened Abdol-rezac the Larian. Having no time to arm himself at all points, he snatched up a sabre and buckler, and throwing himself upon a horse that had a bridle but no saddle, he with only twelve men that were at hand, advanced towards that part whence he heard the screams, that is, towards the whole host of enemies, which were ranging themselves in battle in the Palace-yard: for by this time the main gate of the fortress being wide open, troops poured one after another, like the waves of an angry sea, and they had filled every part of the place. Abdol-rezac was now over against his master's Palace-gate. Without minding the few men by whom he was attended, or the numerous throngs that crowded on all sides, he rushed in the very middle of thousands of unsheathed sabres, with so much eagerness that his little troop was lost in a moment, and disappeared amongst them. Without being dismayed by that disaster, he cried with all his might, that so long as he was alive, he would prove a friend to Soltan Ab8l-hassen. He said, and kept advancing to the gate, making his way with his own blood. He was aimed at from all sides, struck on all sides, and he received so many wounds, from the top of his head to the nail of his toe, that he looked like a shrub of full blown roses. Such feats of prowess were that day exhibited by that undaunted man, as are almost past belief, and past the human power; and such as would have excited the wonder, and extorted the admiration, of a R8stem and a Sohrab, two ancient heroes, who would have gladly taken upon their shoulders the trappings of submission, and followed him as his friends to the

Amazing exertions of General Abdol-rezac.

end of the world(156). He was now arrived close to the gate, but had received twelve large wounds. Here he received another, which blinded one of his eyes, and by throwing the skin of the forehead over the other, blinded him totally. Here he was assaulted again, received many other wounds, and his arm was disabled; his body, weakened by so much loss of blood, was seized with an universal trembling. In this extremity, he had presence of mind enough to turn the bridle about, and to abandon himself to his own horse; and the animal, although much wounded, carried him back to his house, where four men took him down, and laid him upon his carpet. Hashem-aaly-qhafi, who enjoyed then a high command in the Imperial army, as well as at Court, and was present in all this amazing affair, writes that all those that aspire to raise a character for valour and attachment, ought to have their minds illumed from the beams emitted by that incomparable gem of the sea of prowess and fidelity, if they intend to serve their lords and masters with a zeal and truth, that may entitle them to the applause of their contemporaries, and to the secret and public favors of their Maker in this world and the other.

King Ab8l-hassen, awakened by this general scream, both from within and without, got up, and guessing the subject of so much tumult, he used his endeavours to pacify those unfortunate ladies, asked their pardon for past offences, bid them farewell for ever, took an affectionate leave of them all, and was at some pains to disengage himself from their hands. At last he parted from so tender a scene, and without forgetting his high rank, or losing his wonted firmness of mind for a moment, he came out of the sanctuary, went to the Hall of Audience, and took up his seat on his royal mesned, as usual, waiting patiently for those uninvited guests which fate was sending him But this happening to be the time customary for his principal meal, he sent orders for its being brought up immediately. He was yet speaking, when Roh-ollah-qhan, the Generalissimo, entered the hall, followed by M8htar-qhan, and the other eminent Lords and Commanders mentioned above. The King of Haider-abad, without being moved by their multitude, let them draw near, and then

Fearless behaviour of the King of Haider-abad.

(156) See the Persian history, called the Book of Kings (Shah-nameh), an historical Poem, in sixty thousand distiches.

gave them the salute of "*Peace be to ye,*"(157), but without carrying his hand to his head or forehead, or making any the least inclination or motion of the body, inconsistent with his Royal dignity. He spoke to the Generalissimo and to the others, with an elegance of language, and a flow of expression that astonished those illustrious personages, and he intermixed his discourses with such marks of benignity and attention, as well as grandeur and superiority, as charmed and over-awed them all.

VERSES:

" Wise man, said he in verses, do not raise a Buckler against an arrow shot by
" Fate.
" When destiny leads the attack, it is immaterial whether thou be behind the
" wall of a fortress, or in an open plain.
" Crouch to the ground, when merciless adversity directs its shaft against thee;
" Crouch low, that it may pass over thee without doing thee harm."

He continued discoursing in this manner until the dawn of the day, when the bacäol, or superintendent of the kitchen-office, announced that His Majesty was served. Ab8l-hassen turning to the Imperialists, asked their leave, and also invited them to partake of his repast. Some amongst them, who were of a rough intolerant temper, were for objecting to his having that liberty; but the Persian Moguls found no inconvenience at all in it, and Moqhtar-qhan in particular, with two or three more, accepted the invitation. Roh-ollah-qhan excused himself politely, but could not help expressing his amazement at a meal taken at such a time. " It is my customary time," said Ab8l-hassen. —*Admitted*, said Roh-ollah-qhan, *I know it; but cannot*

(157) *Selam-alec*, or *Peace be to thee*, (and these words are Arabic) is always the salute obligatory on a Mussulman, and it is always answered by the words *Aleic-es-selam*; to thee also be peace. This salutation is never used but by Mussulmen and to Mussulmen.—The Indian salutation consists in an inclination of the head and body, with the palm of the hand, that is, the four fingers, carried and applied flat to the middle forehead, so as to cross it vertically. This is the salute which for instance, any man not an equal, would make to Mubarec-ed-dowlah, the nominal Navvab of Bengal. The latter would return the salute, or, as is the Indian expression, would take it up, by keeping his head erect, and carrying his four fingers to the top of his turbant, or, if more kind, to his forehead. To persons of some distinction, a full inclination of the head is added, a half, a quart, an eight: all niceties, which a careful observation may take notice of, with as many more in the person who inclines both his head and body.

understand how you find an inclination to eat at this very time. " General," said the King, " what you say is rational ; but such " is my confidence in that God that has created me, as He does " kings and beggars promiscuously, that I am inclined to believe " He never withdraws His wonted look of goodness totally from " His creatures, and never deprives them intirely of such portion " of subsistence as He has allotted them at first ; and although " my venerable parents have taken abundant care to bring me " up with that delicacy and that grandeur, in which I chanced to " be born, yet I remember still that it was in the designs of that " same Providence that I should pass some part of my life in " the garb of a Fakir and beggar, in the same manner that it was " in its decrees that I should afterwards be put at once and in " an hour's time, in possession of an Empire, without the secret " springs of that revolution having been ever suspected either " by me or by any others. Praises be to its goodness! that He " has put it in my power to quit a crown without regret. There " is no pleasure but which I have enjoyed to satiety; no wish " but which I have seen filled to my heart's content. Corors " have come to my hands and have been spent with ease; " I have made presents by lacks at a time ; and now that in " punition of some improper actions of which I have been guilty " in my days of dominion, Providence has thought proper to " withdraw out of my hands the royal sceptre with which it had " once entrusted me, I still acknowledge its goodness in this " particular, that it has not transferred my crown to any but to " a Mussulman Monarch, and that too only after I had enjoyed " it as much time as was probably allotted to my life."

Singular conversation between him and the Imperial Generals.

After having said so much, he took his meal quietly, and then having arrayed himself in a magnificent dress, he sent for his favorite horse, and he mounted, surrounded by the Imperial Generals, who seemed only a part of the royal cortege that followed him in a long train. At the gate of the city, he found the Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, who had pitched a tent just to land in it, and to wait for his coming ; and to him he presented the chaplet of pearls, which he then wore hanging at his neck, requesting him to accept it as his nezur(158). The Prince spoke

(158) The Nezur is not always presented in money; but it is at all times an indispensable token of respect. Even those that do not take it up, never fail to

to him with kindness, condoled with him on this reverse of fortune, and carried him to the Emperor. Such a sight softened even that covetous man's heart. He received him with demonstrations of honor and regard; and after having kept him some days in camp, in which time he appointed him a suitable pension, and a proper quantity of apparel, provisions, and perfumes, to be presented him daily out of the Imperial wardrobe, he sent him to the Fortress of Dö8let-abad, where he was to be confined. After this interview, the Emperor sent Roh-ollah-qhan again in the fortress, with a number of accomptants and other penmen, to take an account of the dethroned King's effects, and of those of his Ministers. Roh-ollah-qhan, on taking possession of the palace, ordered Abdol-rezac, the Larian, to be brought before him. The man was in a swoon, but breathed freely. They took up the four corners of his bed, and laid it down in the Hall of Audience. At this moment Saf-shiken-qhan, thinking to ingratiate himself with the by-standers, exclaimed: "*This is that* "*impure Mahmed-rezac, the Larian. We must cut off his head,* "*and send it to the Emperor*; *and after that hang it up at the* "*gate.*" Roh-ollah-qhan, on finding that these words had been heard with silence, observed, after some pause, that to cut off, without an express order, the head of a man half-dead, would not prove consonant to that sense of humanity which is inherent in all brave men. And this observation having been received with silence again, R8h-ollah-qhan took a pen, and wrote a note to the Emperor on the man's condition. The Emperor, who had always been an open admirer of his heroical prowess, and a secret approver of his unshaken fidelity answered the note, by sending two Indian chirurgeons and two European ones, with orders to take the utmost care of him, and to report daily to the presence an account of his condition, and how far they had or had not any hopes of his recovery; and on R8h-ollah-qhan's making his own report, the Monarch answered: "*Had it been* "*Ab8l-hassen's good fortune to have had such another servant, or* "*at least another General, as faithful and as zealous as Abdol-* "*rezac, the conquest of the place would have taken up a great* "*deal more time, and possibly might have become impracticable*

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signify their acceptance by touching it, be it, as is often the case, a trooper's sabre. [illegible]re it appears that the Prince did not dare to signify his acceptance.

"*at last.*" The chirurgeons, being introduced a little after, reported: *That, the man had seventy wounds that required both suture and unguents, besides a number of small others. That one of his eyes was entirely disabled, and although the other did not seem to be materially injured, yet it appeared that it had suffered, and probably would remain without office.* The Emperor, having heard the report attentively, dismissed the chirurgeons, recommending the man to their care, and promising them his favor on that condition. Thirteen days after, they came again and announced, that Abdol-rezac had opened his eye, and spoke some incoherent words; but that his wounds had assumed a favorable appearance, and that there were hopes of his recovering. The Emperor seemed pleased, and a few days after, he sent him a message in these words: "I have forgiven your "conduct. Send your eldest son, Abdol-cadyr, to Court, with "such of your other children as you shall think most deserving, "that I may raise them to dignities, offices, and honors; and "let them humble themselves in their father's name, and thank "me for having forgiven your conduct, and for my being inclined "to promote you to high commands, suitable to your rank." That valorous man, after hearing the message, answered: "I "acknowledge His Majesty's goodness for all the kindnesses "shewn me; but although this deformed soul of mine is not "yet gone out of this mangled body, yet in the condition in "which it now chances to be, it is not in the nature of things "that life should hold out. Nevertheless, should He that can "resuscitate the dead, think proper to exhibit a token of His "plenitude of power by restoring life to this body, of what use shall "it be then to His Majesty or to me, with both hands and legs dis-"abled? But admitting that I ever shall be able to serve again, "a man that owes this flesh and this blood to Ab8l-hassen's nur-"sing and care, cannot consent to serve the Emperor Aoreng-zib."

Noble proceedings of the Emperor towards Abdol-rezac.

The Emperor, on hearing this answer, could not help betraying some displeasure and surprise; but he had the equity to pay many encomiums to his unshaken attachment, and he made him a present of whatever effects should have remained in his house, or might be recovered from the sack and plunder.

As to those of Ab8l-hassen's, after all that had been made away, and after all that furniture that had been taken possession

of, they were found to amount to no less than sixty-eight lacs and fifty-one thousand H8ns (Pagodas) in gold, and two corors and fifty-three thousand rupees in silver, which two sums were computed to amount to six corors, eighty lacs and ten thousand Rupees. This was exclusive of the gold and silver furniture, and of jewels and gems. From this calculation of Hashem-ally-qhan-qhafi's it appears that the H8n in his time was valued at seven rupees, and, of course, that it must have been of a higher standard, and of greater weight than the H8ns of our days. All this was entered in the Imperial books for one Arib, fifteen corors and sixteen lacs of dams(159). It was on this occasion that a nobleman of the Court, then called Multekyt-qhan, and since known under the title of Mir-qhan, but whose original name was Mir-Abdol-kerim, and who had been present at all these transactions, complimented the Emperor with a relation of this siege, under the title of *Conquest of Golconda*: an elegant book, in which he pays the highest encomiums to that country, to the strength of that fortress, and to the beauty of Haider-abad, its Capital. And, in fact, the excellence of the air and water of that tract of ground, the beauty of its women, and the fertility and high product of its lands, are such as cannot be properly described.

Riches found in Golconda.

The Fortress of Golconda was originally enclosed with a mud wall by the ancestors of the Rajah Dë8-räi, the last of its Hindoo Princes; and it was from that Prince that the Mussulman Princes of the House of Behemen took it. This family becoming extinct in process of time, in the person of Sultan-Mahm8d-Behemen, the kingdom was parcelled out by a variety of pretenders, amongst which one Soltan C8ly, *alias* C8t8b-el-Mulk, one of the Lords of the court, kept possession of the Fortress of Golconda. This Soltan-C8ly, from that time, became the Sovereign of that country, and built in stone the mud wall rised by Dë8-räi. His descendants, all surnamed C8t8b-el-mulk(160), as well as himself, being firmly established

(159) The accounts of the Exchequer of Hindostan are kept in Dams, a copper piece of forty to a Rupee. An Arib is a hundred Corors.

(160) These are probably those Princes, called in the Portuguese histories of India, Codamuluco and Mamamaluco, although the latter word looks very much like Nizam-el-mulk.

in that new kingdom of theirs, took pleasure successively in strengthening the fortifications of their new capital. In process of time, the crown devolved to Mahmed-C8ly C8t8b-el-Mulk, who much enlarged his dominions, but fell so much in love with a famous dance-girl, called Bagh-muti, that, at her persuasion, he purchased a great tract of land at two cosses distance from Golconda, and having built a town on that spot, he called it Bagh-nagar from that beloved woman's name. And as she was originally a prostitute, her morals and customs became the fashion in the new town, which abounded with public houses of prostitution, as well as tippling shops. In process of time, the morals became so bad in the new city, that its inhabitants acquired a bad character, which is even become proverbial(161) all over India. One of the succeeding Princes, informed of the bad renown, and of its origin, ordered the city to be called by the name of Háider-abad, or colony of Háider But whereas

(161) The Decan being yet a country newly subdued, and full of strongholds, fortresses, and Zemindars, the collection of the revenue is not to be effected but by an army. Hence its Sovereigns are always in a progress from Haider-abad to Aoreng-abad, two Capitals of half a million of souls each, and much better built than the Indian cities. But as all the seraglios and wives are constantly left there, whilst the husbands live in the field for two or three consecutive campaigns; hence the women of those two cities have fallen under very heavy imputations; and as most of the cities in India are sarcastically described in short pieces of poetry, the reader will not be displeased to see a specimen of them :—

Háider-abad, Narvá—Háider-abad, a fine city with a bridge,

Hat-me sindica carvá—Where all people are seen with a cup of Sindi (or Toddy) in their hands,

Nitche-mati, 8par ch8na—Where the houses are mud within, and lime without,

Dj8r8 Chinal, Kysum Barva.—And where all wives are whores, and all husbands pimps.

Aoreng-abad, cast8ri—A charming place that Aoreng-abad, where, if you take a house to hire, you have

Haveli, Bara; Bibi, dest8ri.—The lady of the house into the bargain,

Panip8t, Carnal, Panip8t and Carnal—Where the boys are *catamites* at thirteen,—and the girls, whores at twelve.

Tira barsca gandia, bara barsh chinal.

Barr neito Barra,—Bar, or if you will, Barra, where jack-asses are excellent, and men are jack-asses.

Gad-ka Bahadyr, admi, gad-a—Jack-asses. Bar is a town in the neighbourhood of Delhi, inhabited by Seyds, brave, but of little understanding; so that they say in proverb, *Barca-ahmac*, a blockhead of Barr; and, by the bye *Barrthe* is sound uttered by Indians when they want to imitate the braying of an ass.

Ab8l-hassen, the last of the Kings of that family, seemed a Prince addicted, more than any of them, to all kinds of pleasures and especially to singing and dancing exhibitions, and his antagonist, on the contrary, was pluming himself on his abstinence and morals, and had assumed the cloak of religion, and pretended to a great purity of manners and to the title of saint; hence he christened the city by the name of Djehad-abad, or the Theatre of Sacred War, after having previously taken care to plunder the inhabitants and to ruin their habitations. In fact, he had but two objects in view. The first, to bring in his possessions those treasures in money and jewels which Abool-hassen was reported to have, and which he really had. The second, to ruin and demolish those numerous societies of learned Shyahs, which abounded in that Capital. This city, after Aoreng-zib's death went by the name of Ferqhundeh-abad, or the auspicious city, and such was its name in the Imperial books; for it became in vogue by Soltan Muazzem-bahadyr-shah's order, but it did not make fortune. And that capital goes now by no other name than that of Haider-abad.

The Emperor, after this conquest, turned his standards towards Bidja-p8r, where he being informed of Abdol-rezac's recovery, he wrote to the Governor of Haider-abad, commanding him to send that General to Court, after giving him hopes of very kind treatment. The man, hearing of the Emperor's intention, excused himself in a supplique to His Majesty, requesting that his goodness might give him leave to perform his pilgrimage to the house of God(162); from whence he intended to return to his own native(163) town, there to spend his days in praying for his prosperity. The Emperor, shocked at his answer, commanded that he should be sent to camp as prisoner; and

(162) The house of God is the Caaba, or square house, from time immemorial, the object of veneration and pilgrimages of the Arabian, before Mohammed. It is now surrounded by an open area, and then by a vast enclosure in four porticoes, each of which would be a large Mosque by itself. This temple or inclosure is called the Haram, and with the temple of Medina, they are called the Haramein, or the two sacred temples. But the square house within the Haram of Mecca is not called otherwise than Caaba. It must be observed, that when a Mussulman asks leave to make the pilgrimage of Mecca, he cannot be refused, without sin.

(163) Lar, a city in the south of Persia, in which the water, scarce, brackish, and bitter, as it is, gives an admirable temper to sabres.

this order would have been executed, had not Ghazi-eddin-qhan, the Generalissimo, who was now recovered of his wounds, interceded for him, and requested to have him in his custody, which was granted. This General carried him to his quarters, where he gained so much upon his mind by his good manners and attentions, that he engaged him to accept the brevet of four thousand horse, with the effectual command of three thousand. By this winning conduct, the Generalissimo put an end to an altercation that did the Emperor very little honor. For since that Prince had conceived so high an esteem for the man's merit, he ought to have dismissed him to his own country, by making him a present of a large sum of money; else, if he intended absolutely to keep him in his service, he ought to have paid so much regard to his disabled condition as to render him a visit, or have sent to him one of the Princes, his sons, or at least his Generalissimo. In one word, he ought to have used him in such an obliging manner as to disarm his aversion. It would have been time then to have proposed to him some brevets, commands, and dignities, superior to those bestowed on so many of Abool-hassen's servants, as the price and reward of their ingratitude and perfidy; for instance, on Hibrahim-qhan, and on Sheh-nizam. He ought, by raising him to superior dignities and commands, and by paying him a much different and much superior regard, to have evinced to the world how much a spotless fidelity and an unshaken attachment were superior in his estimation to all the advantages procured by perfidy and treason. Such a conduct would have given to his own servants lessons of fidelity and zeal. Whereas, after having promoted the traitors to ranks of seven thousand horse, he contented himself with bestowing four thousand only upon the worthy Abdol-rezac, and these, too, he rather forced upon him by the terrors of severe usage. It was in this same manner, and with as little foresight, that he used so kindly that accursed Afghan, the abominable Meleç-djiven, a wretched that owed his life and his very existence to that same Darah-shecoh, whom he conducted to an ignominious death. If it was consonant to politics to avail himself of that treacherous Afghan's perfidy, it would have been found policy at least, after having obtained his ends from him, to imprison him, or to abandon him to all the

neglect and contempt which he deserved. Possibly it would have been proper to have had him executed along with Dara-shecoh, or to have cut off his head as a warning to others, were it but to prove to his own servants that he hated treason, even when he availed himself of its advantages. So far from that, he shewed so much regard to that traitor, as if he had no other aim than that of giving lessons of perfidy and faithlessness. A strange mistake indeed, and a surprising error this! in his politics and in his conduct!

We might recollect another strange instance of neglect and inattention in his temper, and it is this: That same Saadet-qhan, whom he had sent as envoy to S8ltan Ab8l-hassen, and who had served him so zealously at the very expense of his character as an honest man, and, indeed, at the imminent risk of his life, (when he found means to cheat that Prince out of forty or fifty lacs worth of jewel) that same Saadet-qhan, after the conquest of Golconda, was severely reprimanded, and unworthily disgraced; and that, too, for no higher crime than that of his having remitted of his zeal in blowing the fire of dissension, that is, by not mentioning some part of Abool-hassen's conduct, which possibly had never come to his knowledge. This man, who had so readily risked his life in his service, was mulcted in his military rank and command, and deprived of a sum of about eighty thousand rupees, which he was now ordered to send to the treasury, but which the Sultan had made him a present of, as he had himself mentioned in his dispatches to the Emperor. This man, who fell into so much disgrace for a whole year, is the man of whom Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, the historian, writes this singular anecdote in his diary: "I was," says he, "in Saadet-"qhan's company at the very time when he became entrusted "with the custody of the jewels he had sent from Haider-abad. "His friends observed to him repeatedly that, as there was not "amongst these jewels any note signed by Abool-hassen, of "either their weight, colour or respective prices, it was in his "power to enrich himself at once by keeping up the number, and "substituting a few stones of lesser value." The man declined the expedient, and swore he would be faithful to the very last.

And here I must inform the reader that in citing that historian so often, and in availing myself so much of the matter

afforded by his book, I have only pretended to set in a proper light Soltan Abool-hassen's character. The resignation, firmness, and magnanimity, with which he parted from so high a rank, and so exalted a station, and the calmness of temper, with which he endured so sudden a revolution, and one so capable of unhinging the mind of even a Fakir, and a poor man, (people naturally inured to patience and resignation from habit and principle), deserve the highest admiration. May the merciful God have vouchsafed to forgive and console him! And, in fact, he wore the robes of sovereignty with as much indifference as a Fakir does his cloak. Nor is it a small token of Divine favour upon him, that his throne chanced to be supported by a servant of such heroical prowess, and so eminent military talents, as his General, Abdol-rezac, whose unshaken attachment and indefatigable zeal became the more conspicuous and admirable, as the besiegers themselves had long ago ceased to entertain any hopes of success and salvation. In a time so discouraging, at the very moment of the places being surprised, to expose one's life so prodigally to succour an ill fated master, and to thirst so ardently after that bitter cup of wounds which death was tendering everywhere: these are exertions that seem to go beyond the power of humanity, and that will at all times challenge the admiration of mankind. After that, let the reader cast an impartial eye on the obstinacy, covetousness, endless artifices, and perpetual double-dealing of Aoreng-zib's conduct; on his unrelenting vindictive temper, his unsatiable ambition, and the public lessons by which he continually encouraged faithlessness, perfidy, and treason, on one hand; and on the other, let him consider the valuable qualities which shine in Abool-hassen and in Abdol-rezac's characters; and then let him choose for himself, and determine what he ought to imitate in those two exalted characters, and what to reject, and to execrate in that vile conduct so conspicuous in Aoreng-zib; for this world, after all, is but transitory, and must pass, and that Prince's punition is doubtless in reserve in the other life. Abool-hassen and Abdol-rezac, with their firmness and magnanimity, are gone; Aoreng-zib is gone likewise; and nothing has remained, or will remain, but what the recording page of history has said and will say. And although that Emperor carried his attention and foresight

so far as to forbid the analysts and historians of his time from writing the history of the latter part of his life, nevertheless, his endeavours have been of no avail, and the detail of his viles and infamy has been handed down to the latest posterity. But supposing that such a detail could have remained concealed from its knowledge, how could it escape the scrutinising eye of the Almighty Observer of hearts, or the probe of that Omnipotent Searcher of secrets? of that Being I say, which knows intuitively the recesses of every one's conduct?

But let us cease to anticipate the reader's reflections by our own; and let us return to our own narrative. As the Monarchy of Haider-abad was put an end to in the person of Abool-hassen, who was the last of the C8t8b-shahian's family, it shall not be unacceptable to our readers to hear some further particulars of that unhappy Prince in this place. They shall be amazed to hear how he rose, how he acquired a kingdom, how Providence drew for him from its inexhaustible treasury the sweets of high dignities and the glories of so exalted a rank, with all the happiness attending absolute dominion and length of reign; and the by-stander's imagination will be confounded on observing how he was, by an event almost unparalleled in history, placed upon the throne of Haider-abad. This is the more proper, as otherwise the lovers of history would have reason to complain, that after having raised their curiosity to a pitch by recounting the singular conversation that passed between the dethroned King and the Generalissimo, conversation in which that Prince spoke mysteriously of his former Fakyr's garb, and of his present Royal attire, I left them to their own surprise and astonishment, without having so much as attempted to afford ease to their feelings by solving the knots of an enigma, so uncommon and so amazing. Abd8llah-c8t8b-shah, who reigned about sixty years, having no son, and God Almighty having given him only three daughters, he bestowed one of them on Séyd Nizam-eddin-ahmed, the Husséinian(164), who was an

(164) That is, the Séyd descended from Husséin; because there are other Séyds descended from his brother, Hassen. This whole account of the king's two daughters, and of his two sons-in-law, looks somewhat romantic to a European, who cannot but wonder to see that two Arabian adventurers, with only a bad cloak upon their backs, and a beard not exempt from vermin, should jump all at once

undoubted Séyd of the illuminated city of Medina, being of the race of that oracle of learning, Emir-ynaïet-eddîn-mäns8r, the Shirazian, (whose spirit may God have sanctified!); for the number of learned men, produced by that illustrious family, cannot be unknown to those that love history. The most eminent amongst them, are that Prince of philosophers, Emir-sadr-eddin-mohammed-destghi, the Shirazian, and Sëyd Mubarec-shah, as well as Mir-asyl-eddin, and Mir-djemal-eddin-muhdess, without mentioning so many others. He was born in the illuminated city of Medina, from whence he came to Shiraz, in Iran, and settled in that theatre of learning. Having acquired an estate and some lands in the territory of that city, he lived with dignity and splendour for a number of years, when he thought proper to return to Hedjaz(165); and it is in that country that his son, Sëyd aaly-qhan was born. After that he quitted Arabia and went to Hindia, where he took up his abode at Haider-abad, in Decan; where in time he became the King's son-in-law, as we have already mentioned. This Prince, observing abilities and talents in him, gave him the management of several parts of the administration, and raised him to high dignities and employments. Some years after, there came another illustrious Sëyd, from Arabia, a Sëyd Soltan, a learned man, who had studied under the former Sëyd's father, the learned and venerable Sëyd Ahmed. King Ç8t8b-shah took this Séyd also in favour, raised him to dignities and honours, and betrothed his second daughter to him; and he seemed to take a pleasure in producing him to the world. Unfortunately a jealousy arose between the two Seyds; that is, between Séyd Nizam-eddin-ahmed, who was already become the King's son-in-law, and Séyd Soltan, who was designed

Romantik, but yet historical, account of Ab8l-hassen, the last King of Haider-abad.

into the King's Palace. But such is the pitch to which the veneration of Indians for all kinds of foreigners, and for Arabian Séyds in particular, can rise at sometimes, that this transaction looks full as strange, as if a Dutch Minister, just landed from the Texel, should at once be admitted into the British King's Palace, and espouse one of his daughters, and then become the principal Peer of the kingdom. But such is India; and a Persian or Tartar adventurer would have been as much welcomed in the Palace of Haider-abad. Nor are there in India any men artists of their own fortunes, but such foreigners. Nizam-el-mulk was son to a Tartar; Saadet-qhan and Ab8l-mansoor-qhan were Persians; but Haider-naic is an exception to the general rule. Although an adventurer, he was Indian born.

(165) That part of Arabia where are seated the cities of *Mecca, the glorious*, and *Medina, the illuminated*.

for that honour. Once it happened that the King asked the latter whether he had any knowledge of the ancestors of Sëyd Ahmed? The other answered that he had, and that he was a learned man, son to a learned man, and grandson to a learned man; *which last had been his own master and teacher* (to Sëyd Soltan). As this answer, which after all was nothing but truth, was pronounced with a certain air, it made an impression on Sëyd Ahmed, who from that moment became averse to him; and this aversion was kept up by a number of tale-tellers, who took care to furnish fresh fuel to it every day. Insomuch that they became enemies to each other; and their enmity was upon the increase, when preparations commenced for the nuptials of the late King's second daughter, already betrothed. Sëyd Soltan espoused the Princess; and rejoicing and feasting became universal all over the city, where every market, as well as every door and gate, exhibited a scene of festivity and decoration, that surprised and charmed the beholder. On the very night when Sëyd Soltan was to be carried to his bride(166), another offensive expression dropped from his mouth, and an improper action took place; which so displeased Sëyd Ahmed, that he went to C8t8b-Shah, and with a solemn oath told him that if the marriage should take place, he would himself quit his Court, from which he hoped he would dismiss him.—He had at the same time taken measures for quitting Haider-abad. In vain did the old King, in vain did his Ministers endeavour to pacify him, and to bring the two Sëyds to terms of decency and mutual forbearance; their efforts proved fruitless, and their endeavours, abortive. But as Seyd-ahmed's influence had taken root this

(166) The bridegroom is carried by a number of friends within the apartment of the women, which are all concealed, save a certain number of old women, who lead the way to an illuminated room into which all the women peep from behind their covers, and where the bride sits on a Mesned, the head inclined forwards, with the face, shoulders, and shape, intirely covered by her veil (which is always transparent, but folded double). The bridegroom being made to sit close to her, is presented with a looking-glass over which they have laid a Koran, and a pair of scissors. Both the young folks, being made to kiss the Koran, have an opportunity of looking at each other in the glass. After this ceremony, the bridegroom presents his bride with the *M8 declai*, or shew-face, (a quantity of gold coin) and just raising her veil, gets a peep at her charms, and then withdraws immediately to the assembly-room, being re-conducted thither by those that had stopped behind the door of the hall.

longwhile both at Court and within the sanctuary, and C8t8b-shah's principal consort had openly espoused his concerns, together with all the ladies of the Seraglio, and all the King's private friends were also on his side, the old King was confounded at this general opposition, and found himself at a loss how to act, even after consulting his Ministers and favourites. At last they fell upon this expedient, that the Princess should be bestowed, not on the man to whom she had been betrothed, and who had come to carry her to his home, but on Abool-hassen, a young nobleman, very nearly related to the King on the mother's side. But this Abool-hassen having from his tenderest youth conceived such an inclination for the company of Fakirs, as to assume their very garb and manners, and this new kind of life having communicated to his words and actions a strange levity which had rendered him disagreeable to the King, he had fallen into a total neglect; nor could he be prevailed to drop so much as a look upon his person. Hence the young man finding no resource in the world, still more strongly addicted himself to that strange way of life; and he was now living under the roof of a Fakir called Seyd-radj8, whom he had chosen for his saint and director, and whose lessons he was actually hearing, when the King's messengers after much search found him out, and announced to him his good fortune. They carried him to a bath, dressed him with elegance and magnificence, put a crown of pearl upon his head, and mounting him upon a superb horse, that carried a saddle enriched with jewel-work, enamelled, they carried him to the Palace, where the bride, the costly presents, and the high dignities that had been prepared for Seyd Soltan, were at once bestowed upon him; insomuch that the festivity and nuptials, that had commenced in another's name, were continued in his. The bride was put in his hands; he was acknowledged Prince of the blood; and from that moment fortune became so favourable, that he rose in estimation, and was thought equal to any dignity and any office in the State. But by this time Seyd Ahmed was become so proud of his own high extraction, as well as of his having espoused the eldest Princess, and he had become so haughty and overbearing, as to make no account of any Lords of the Court, nor of any Grandees of the State, save Seyd Morteza who drew his pedigree from the Kings of

He proves disagreeable to the King.

Mazenderan(167), and was become a man of consequence in the kingdoms of Decan, and one of the principal Commanders of the troops. Such haughty pretensions naturally estranged all the Ministers from him; but above all they lost him the hearts of the ladies of the seraglio, by whose assistance he had always carried his point. No wonder then, if all the hearts should naturally turn towards Abool-hassen, now Soltan Abool-hassen, who, without familiarising himself with any one, behaved with so much condescension and so much sweetness of temper to all, that people were quite at their ease in his company, where they were always treated with a brotherly civility, and an easy politeness. Soltan C8t8b-shah dying at this very time, and dissensions arising at Court, as well as disputes in the city about a successor to the Crown, Seyd Ahmed shewed himself in arms in the palace, with a number of troops, ready to oppose any pretender; and on the other hand the Soltana Zer-o-mah(168), the principal consort, shewed herself with a sabre in her hand, at the head of a number of Tartarian and Håbeshinian female slaves, armed. The Grandees of the Kingdom meanwhile disagreeing likewise, tumult and war were making their appearance in every part of the city; and God knows how far the flames of civil dissension might have spread, had not Seyd Morteza, the principal General of the troops, vigorously interposed. By his mediation, and the able management of his two agents, Madina and Enganna, two brother Brahmans, who had his confidence, all the Grandees and Ministers agreed to confer the Crown on Soltan Abool-hassen, and to reject Seyd Ahmed, who was vanquished and driven away. But the tumults and dissensions did not end here. Seyd Morteza, proud of his eminent station, and still more so of his having been so instrumental in placing Abdool-hassen on the throne, had assumed an air of independence in all his discourses and actions, which the new King bore for some time, but which at last had become intolerable; and the fire of a civil war was going to blaze again, when Madina, the Brahman, who had now become the new King's confidant and Prime Minister,

(167) A province of Iran or Persia, south of the Caspian Sea. It is surrounded on three sides by high mountains and thick *masy* forests, whence it has received the name of *Maz-enderan* in Persian.

(168) The Princess, sun and moon.

found means to gain over to his side all the Commanders and officers who had hitherto supported Séyd Morteza; so that this General, finding himself at once deprived of both wings and feathers, thought proper to submit to controul. These important services made such an impression on the new King, that he bestowed the casket of the Vezirship on Madina, and entrusted his brother, Euganna, with the details and offices which his elder brother had left vacant by his promotion. And it is from thence that must be dated that Minister's influence, and his master's gratitude. And it is here that ends our history.

Let us now pour our acknowledgments on God Almighty's threshold, for his having vouchsafed on us His divine assistance; and let us praise His goodness endlessly, for his having condescended to make use of so humble and so inadequate an instrument, as this penman (who is the last of men), to array this third volume in the robes of style and arrangement, and to attire it with the ornament of completion and finishing, in such a manner as to promise these fragile leaves the permanency which was hoped for, and intended for them. Praise be to Him! that in the composition of this Work, exactitude and impartiality have been, to the best of my abilities, objects of scrupulous attention; and that they afford the satisfaction to think that the labour attending such a performance, has been brought to a proper end. I rely so far on the goodness of that Omnipotent Being, as to hope that He shall vouchsafe to irradiate these humble leaves in such a manner, as shall render them capable of illuming the hearts, and of enlightening the understandings, of the ruling men of this age, by giving to the unadequate and feeble ink of this humblest of men all the qualities of a Collyrium, capable of deterging the eyes of men of knowledge. May His beneficence bestow such an efficacy, and such a currency, on the paradisical maxims, sprinkled on every part of this composition, as may render them wholesome and savoury, like those waters said to flow from Heaven, and equally salutary and palatable to the governing part of mankind! May they serve to cleanse their eyes of those immondices, so capable to cloud their lustre, and so proper to keep them closed with the pride of sloth, and slumbering with the intoxicating fumes of power and dominion! For the utmost wish of my ambition, and the direct scope of my

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steering, have been to reclaim and to awaken those slothful men, who, forgetful of their ownselves, seem to slumber their lives away in the lap of inerty and the blindness of ignorance. Whenever that end is accomplished, I shall presume that this book, teeming with blemishes as it is, has been the means of attracting the Divine forgiveness upon my unworthy self. In one word, I firmly hope from the Supreme goodness, that in the verification of the holy oracle, "*My mercy goes faster than my anger,*" and in compliance with that holy sentence, "*He is truth itself,*" He shall vouchsafe to convert the fond hope of so sinful a being into completion and reality; for "*He is truth itself, and the Supreme Goodness.*"

This has been written by the weak and decayed hand of the poorest of those that beg at the gate of the All-bountiful God, that is, by Gh8lam-hussëin, the Hussëinian, son to Seyd Hedaïet-aaly-qhan, grandson to Sëyd Aalim-ollah, great-grandson to Seyd Faiz-ollah, the Tebatebä, (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever!) through the merits of the Prince of Prophets, and the intercession of the last of Messengers, Mohammed, the seal of envoys, as well as through those of his pure and innocent offspring (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever till the day of the last Judgment!). And the work has been finished the third day of the second week of that blessed month of Ramazan, which comes the seventh in order, in the series that compose the ninety-fifth year of the twelfth century that has elapsed since the auspicious and prophetic flight of that noble being,—on whom be grace and praise for ever!

Copied by the Rebellious, the sinful,

Mohammed-hassäon, the Hossënian.

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[N. B.—*In this index the old spelling of proper names has been retained.*]

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